

CONTRIBUTIONS
OF
THE OLD RESIDENTS'
Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

Vol. III. No. 1.

PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION,
SEPTEMBER, 1884.

LOWELL, MASS.
MORNING MAIL PRINT: NO. 18 JACKSON STREET.
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CONTENTS.

I.	Sketch of the Life of Benjamin Pierce, by Joshua Merrill,	1
II.	Organized Charities of Lowell, by Charles Hovey . . .	13
III.	Present Population of Lowell, by Nathan Allen, M. D. . .	20
IV.	Resolutions unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Old Residents' Historical Association, of Lowell, August 8, 1883, as a Tribute of Respect to the Memory of the late Rev. Theodore Edson, S. T. D.	25
V.	Sketch of the Life of Ezra Worthen, by W. R. Bagnall . .	33
VI.	The First Burns Celebration in Lowell, by H. M. Ordway,	42
VII.	The Dedication and First Ringing of the Chime of Bells in the Tower of St. Anne's Church. Read by Benjamin Walker	47
VIII.	Paul Moody, by Rev. W. R. Bagnall	57
IX.	The President's Addresses	73
X.	Rev. John Eliot (Apostle to the Indians), Passaconaway, Wannalancet and Captain Samuel Mosely, by Alfred Gilman	90

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1. *Sketch of the Life of Benjamin Pierce, by Joshua Merrill. Read February 7, 1883.*

BENJAMIN PIERCE was born in Chelmsford (now Lowell), December 25, 1757. His father, Benjamin Pierce, died when his son Benjamin was six years old. He was the seventh of a family of ten children. After his father's death he lived with his uncle, Robert Pierce, a farmer whose house stood on the road leading from Lowell to Chelmsford, where Orlando Blodgett's stable now stands. He remained with his uncle until April 19, 1775. He was then ploughing in a field on Powell Street, directly west of the stone stable erected by Aldis L. Waite. He heard the firing of guns, and soon messengers arrived notifying the inhabitants of the Battle of Lexington and Concord. Young Pierce, then in his eighteenth year, chained his steers, as he called them, to a stump, went to the house, took his uncle's gun and equipments, and started for Concord, on foot, as many others did on hearing the report.

As the British had retreated before he arrived at Concord, he went on that night towards Boston, and the next morning enlisted into Capt. John Ford's Company. Capt. Ford was the father of the late Capt. Elisha Ford, of this city.

Capt. Ford's Company for a time was stationed at Cambridge, and young Pierce, with his company, was in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

He was one of the few, who, having entered the service at the commencement of the War, continued to the close. His regiment was commanded by Col. John Brooks, of Medford, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts.

Rev. Edmond Foster, of Littleton, Mass., who died in 1826, told me that he and Col. Brooks rode together from Medford to Concord, arriving just as the British were retreating. They followed them to Charlestown, firing upon them from behind buildings, fences and trees, killing a number.

During life Gov. Brooks and Pierce were strong personal friends. When Pierce became Brigadier-General in the militia of New Hampshire, Gov. Brooks gave him an entire outfit—uniform, cap, sword and pistols.

His regiment was in many of the hard fought battles, particularly on the 19th of September and 9th of October, 1777, which preceded the surrender of the army of Burgoyne, October 17, 1777. In one of the battles, when the bearer of the colors was shot, young Pierce seized the colors and bore them to the front during the conflict. For this brave act he was commissioned ensign.

After the close of the War his regiment was retained and went with Gen. Washington to take possession of New York City. He remained in the army until the last troops were disbanded at West Point, in February, 1784.

He passed through the various grades of a common soldier, corporal, sergeant, ensign and lieutenant, leaving the army in command of a company and with the reputation of a brave soldier. He returned to Chelmsford after an absence of almost nine years.

His uncle had given him all the means the town afforded for obtaining an education, which was very

limited. He was always much more sensitive to the want of an education than his friends had occasion to be for him. With a very slight change in the grammatical construction, his productions were always ready for the press.

The school house where he received what little education he had before entering the army, stood at the southwest corner of School and Westford Streets.

When he left the army, owing to the depreciation of the Continental paper money in which he had been paid for almost nine years' service, he had but about five hundred dollars. He said he was very free with his money when in company with his companions and it was soon half gone. He began to think what he should do when it was all gone. Now every one addressed him as Lieut. Pierce and considered him a good generous fellow. He said to himself "when my money is gone I'll be nothing but Ben Pierce. My friends will say there goes Ben Pierce to his day's work with his axe on his shoulder. I can't stand that; I must turn over a new leaf; and I did."

About this time he was in the habit of using liquor rather freely. That may have been the reason why his money was half gone. His sister, with whom he then lived, had frequently remonstrated with him, but it had no effect. One day he came home, and when his sister saw his condition the tears began to run down her cheeks. She wiped them off, but they would come. He looked at her a moment, and then said, "Becky, tears are more powerful than words. You shall never see me in this condition again." She never did, or anyone else.

In the fall of 1785 he was employed by Col. Stoddard to explore a tract of land now contained in the town of Stoddard, N. H. On his way home he called at

a hut in the woods, in the town of Hillsborough, and purchased of the owner fifty acres of land. He spent the next winter in Chelmsford.

In the spring of 1786 he returned to Hillsborough, and commenced clearing his fifty-acre lot. He lived alone in his log hut, cooked for himself, and slept on a blanket.

The first intimation he had of any acquaintance with public men in the state was the reception of a commission from the Governor of New Hampshire, as Brigade Major for the Brigade comprising Hillsborough County. He afterwards learned that he was indebted to Gen. Sullivan, who had informed the Governor that such a man had recently moved into the county. From this time he rose in the military to the rank of Brigadier-General. He served in the United States Army almost nine years, and in the militia of New Hampshire twenty-one years. For many years he commanded the regiment which furnished the country a Miller, a McNiel, and many other distinguished officers and soldiers who served their country in the War of 1812-'15.

As a military officer Gen. Pierce was very popular. The late Hon. Isaac Hill said, "I remember distinctly of seeing Gen. Pierce as the reviewing officer of the Fifth Regiment, on Amherst Plain. At no subsequent time has that or any other regiment in the state appeared to better advantage. Every person who has seen Gen. Pierce upon parade must give him credit of having been behind no man in those graces which become the military officer. He was the *beau ideal* of an officer of the Revolution."

In 1789 he was elected a Representative to the General Court of New Hampshire, from the classed towns of Hillsborough and Henniker, and continued to

represent these towns, or Hillsborough singly, for thirteen years in succession.

In 1803 he was elected to the Council. His political opponent was Col. Robert Means, of Amherst, father of the late Robert Means, of this city, who was Agent of the Suffolk Manufacturing Company. This was the first success of the Democratic Party in the county. He continued in the Council six years.

Five years he was the Councillor of Gov. Langdon, by whom he was appointed Sheriff of Hillsborough County, in 1809. He held the office until 1813, when, in consequence of high political excitement, he was addressed out of office by a majority of both branches of the Legislature, for adhering to the old Court instead of the new, which had been established by the same Legislature. The next year (1814) he was again elected to the Council, and was annually re-elected until 1818, when he was again appointed sheriff of the county, which office he held until 1827, when he was elected Governor of the state.

In 1828 he was defeated, by the election of John Bell, of Exeter.

In 1829 the Democrats came into power, and he was again elected Governor.

He was an Elector of President in 1832, which was the last public office he ever held. At the time of his death he was Vice-President of the Society of Cincinnati, in Massachusetts.

For more than fifty years Gen. Pierce was in some public office or employment. An obituary notice of him says, "No man, probably, in the state, has preceded him of equally extensive personal influence, from example and precept. No man ever lived in the state who was more respected. He was always helping others forward.

In every public enterprise, whether for charity or general utility, he was the first to move. He was always a friend to the poor and unfortunate."

When sheriff of the county a poor Revolutionary soldier was confined in Amherst gaol for debt. After remaining there eight or ten years, and being unable to pay the debt, and having no friends to assist him, Gen. Pierce paid the debt of several hundred dollars, opened the prison doors, and told the poor man, "Go out and breathe the free, pure air of heaven."

Another instance may be mentioned. A few days before his death, when he lay in a state of apparent insensibility, his attendants spoke of a poor neighbor whose only cow had died. He started up and inquired whose cow had died. When told, he said, "Go to my desk, and get three dollars; the neighbors will add enough more to buy another cow. I may not live until morning."

The General had a great regard for the soldiers of the Revolution, and on a certain occasion invited all who lived in the county to visit him, giving them a cordial greeting and a bountiful entertainment. He was always frank and generous and made his guests feel at home. His house was open not only to his friends, but to strangers who had occasion to travel that way, always entertaining them gratuitously.

Gen. Pierce frequently visited Chelmsford and Lowell, and in company with some of his old school-mates he would visit the old school house or the spot where it once stood. It is said he took great pride in showing the stump to which he chained his steers when he left for Concord. The late Noah Spalding told me he had shown it to him. Benjamin Butterfield, father of Mrs. Jonathan Tyler, was a very particular friend

of his. Their meetings were always very cordial and pleasant.

When Governor, he visited Lowell, and called on several of his old friends, and among the rest Mrs. Parker, mother of Mrs. Noah Spalding. She met him at the door, and he said, "How do you do, Susie? I don't know as you know me." She replied, "Yes, I do. It's Ben Parse. I spose you're Governor, but I'll call you Ben Parse. Come in. I'm real glad to see you, Ben. How's your wife and children?" etc. The Governor was much pleased with his cordial reception, and frequently alluded to the very pleasant interview with his old school-mate.

Gen. Pierce's mother married for her second husband a Mr. Bowers. I never knew him, but when I was a small boy she was a widow, and lived in Milford, N. H., the nearest neighbor to my father. She was quite aged, and was usually called "Grandmarn Bowers." She died in 1809. Gen. Pierce wrote to my father to make arrangements for the funeral, which he did. Charles Atherton, son of our well-known and enterprising fellow citizen, Abel T. Atherton, is a descendant of the sixth generation, from Mrs. Bowers.

From this time (1809) to 1823 I saw Gen. Pierce frequently. My father owned property in his neighborhood, which made it necessary for us to go there several times in a year, and we frequently spent the night there. My father was a soldier in the Revolution, and like the General, a strong Democrat; and they took great satisfaction in "fighting their battles over again." The General was remarkably good at telling stories and anecdotes, to which I listened with much pleasure. I recollect spending an evening with him at his sister

Foster's, in Milford, in 1822. There was quite a company, mostly young people. He kept them very much interested, to a late hour, telling amusing stories.

The last time I ever saw the General at his house was in May, 1827, just after he was elected Governor. He invited me to come to Hillsborough, and open a school in their academy. He said he had one son he would like to send. The following June I went to Concord to see him inaugurated as Governor of the state.

Gen. Pierce was a strong supporter of the War of 1812-'15. In the fall of 1814 it was expected that the enemy would attack Portsmouth and its navy-yard, which contained several vessels of war, and other public property.

Gen. Pierce used to attend the meetings of the Executive Council with his sword and pistols, ready to start at any moment for the defence of his country. Two of his sons, Benjamin H. and John S., entered the army by the advice of their father.

About this time, Gen. Pierce had occasion to go to Court, at Exeter, on horseback, and on the way overtook Hon. Daniel Blaisdell, of Cannon, going to the same place. Blaisdell was an ex-member of Congress, an ardent Federalist, and of course opposed to the War. They rode along, chatting very pleasantly, until the subject of politics came up. Pierce denounced the Federalists as the enemies of the country and desiring to destroy the liberties of the people by consolidating all power in the hands of a few families. Blaisdell in turn denounced the Democratic Party as the enemies of the country, and like Satan, wishing to bring all down to a level with himself. This enraged Pierce, and he declared he would not ride any further with such a traitor, and, jumping off his horse, he dared Blaisdell to take his

chance of a good thrashing, on the spot. Blaisdell thought it wise to decline taking that chance, and said a few pleasant words to the General, who remounted his horse, and they jogged on to Exeter as though nothing had happened.

Gen. Pierce took a great interest in agricultural pursuits from the day he felled the first tree on his fifty-acre lot. To this lot he added from time to time, until he owned a large farm, on which he lived, and several smaller ones. He took the management of his farm himself, working with his help when at home, and (like Gov. Crittenden, of Vermont,) had them all sit at the table with him at their meals.

He despised everything that appeared aristocratic. It annoyed him exceedingly if any of his children or friends married into what he considered aristocratic families or the family of a Federalist.

He was one of the early members of the Hillsborough County Agricultural Society, and a constant contributor to its fairs of stock and agricultural products. One year he raised 501 bushels of potatoes on one acre, for which he received the first premium. In a communication to an agricultural paper, he wrote: "I have been a practical farmer ever since the Revolutionary War. Farming, of the various professions of life, is the most congenial to my feelings. Upon the farmer we depend whenever the enemies of our country dare to trespass on our soil." Six days before his death he subscribed for three copies of the *Farmer's Monthly Visitor*, published by Hon. Isaac Hill.

When it was expected that he could live but a few days, his son Franklin, who was then in the United States Senate, wrote to his father to know if he wished him to come home. His father answered that he

wished him "to stand at the post of public duty. New Hampshire expects her representative and senators to act on every question regarding the interest of the country. Their duty is a responsible and solemn one. My life is of little consequence. I wish you to remain."

May 24, 1787, he married Miss Elizabeth Andrews, daughter of Isaac Andrews, Esq., of Hillsborough. She died August 13, 1788, in her twenty-first year. She left one daughter, Elizabeth A., who married Gen. John McNeil, who was a distinguished officer at the Battle of Lundy's Lane where he received a severe wound.

I recollect hearing the General say that Mrs. Pierce was a very handsome lady, and soon after they were married a young man stopped with them over night, and becoming very much pleased with the personal appearance of Mrs. Pierce, he said to her in the morning when about to leave, that if agreeable to her, he should be pleased to become better acquainted with her at some future time. Mrs. Pierce replied, that as he appeared to be very much of a gentleman, she had no particular objection, but would like to speak to her husband, Mr. Pierce, and see what he thought of it. The gentleman never once thought that he was making love to Mrs. Pierce or a married lady. After making a very handsome apology to Mrs. Pierce, and congratulating Mr. Pierce on his good fortune in securing such a beautiful and lovely wife, he bid them good morning and left.

In 1789 he married Miss Anna Kendrick, daughter of Benjamin Kendrick, Esq., of Amherst, N. H. She was the mother of eight children:

Benjamin Kendrick, born August 29, 1790; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1807; studied law; entered the army in 1812, as lieutenant. After the close of the

war, in 1815, he entered the United States Army, received a colonel's commission, and was in the Florida War. He died in New York about thirty years ago.

Nancy Merrill, married Gen. Solomon McNeil. She was the mother of Mrs. Wentworth, wife of our late distinguished fellow citizen, Hon. Tappan Wentworth, and Solomon and John McNeil. She died April 27, 1837, aged 44 years.

John Sullivan was in the War of 1812; afterwards colonel in the United States Army. He died in Michigan in 1825, leaving two daughters, who were taken by their grandfather Pierce, and educated.

Harriet B. married Hugh Jameson, of Antrim. She died November 24, 1837, aged 37 years. She was the mother of Mrs. Charlotte J. Bond, of this city.

Charles G. was educated at West Point. He died in Utica, N. Y., January 5, 1828.

Franklin, born November 23, 1804. He graduated at Bowdoin College, in 1824. He studied law with Levi Woodbury, of Portsmouth, and Edmund Parker, of Amherst. In 1827 he opened a law office in Hillsborough. He represented the town of Hillsborough in the Legislature four years, and was Speaker of the House, in 1831 and '32. From 1833 to '37 he was a Representative in Congress, and March 4, 1837, took his seat in the United States Senate. He was a general in the Mexican War, entering the City of Mexico with Gen. Scott. He was elected President of the United States in 1852. He died October 8, 1869, aged 65 years.

Charlotte, died in infancy.

Henry D., who was a farmer, died April 9, 1882, in his native town.

Mrs. Pierce (like the General's first wife) was distinguished for her beauty. She was a very intelligent

and amiable lady, and always presided with great dignity and propriety over the festivities of their numerous guests. She died in 1838, aged 70 years.

About two years previous to his death, Gov. Pierce was stricken with paralysis, and suffered greatly until his death; but his mental faculties remained unimpaired. He requested that his funeral be without any parade or show—that not even a funeral sermon should be preached.

He died April 1, 1839, aged 81 years, three months and six days. The funeral was on the third, when a large gathering of distinguished persons from all parts of the state met with friends and neighbors to pay the last tribute of respect to their departed friend.

II. Organized Charities of Lowell, by Charles Hovey. Read February 7, 1883.

THE population which gathered in this locality sixty years ago was probably made up of people as diverse in language and habits as had ever before assembled in this country. It consisted of representatives of many nations, mostly youthful, healthy and enterprising, and with an element common to all — the desire to accumulate money. There was work for all, and their condition respectively was such that all desired to work; consequently, for many years there was no need of an organization for helpful charity. The first organized body for this purpose of which the writer has any record was the

LOWELL DISPENSARY,

an incorporated institution whose charter was signed in 1836 by the Hon. Edward Everett, then Governor of Massachusetts. The names of James G. Carney, John Clark, Sidney Spalding, Thomas Hopkinson, John Aiken, Jesse Fox, and P. W. Warren, all long since deceased, among its managers, indicate the responsible character of the organization.

Some of its general features were as follows, viz: The payment of ten dollars entitled any person to become a life member, with the privilege of recommending ten patients to its benefits every year. The

payment of one dollar per annum would give the same privilege for five patients for one year. All life membership fees and donations have, according to the original rule, been set apart to constitute a permanent fund, which beginning with about \$700 the first year, has now nearly reached \$10,000 in sound securities.

In consequence of the establishment of numerous other charities, and especially the City Dispensary, the demand upon this charity for medical attendance and medicine has greatly subsided; but, nevertheless, it continues its quiet but useful work faithfully, maintaining its organism and husbanding its income.

It has introduced two new forms of charity—that of supplying ice to the sick poor by coupon tickets, and of loaning fracture bedsteads. This last feature was suggested by the late Dr. Samuel L. Dana, who in his last sickness, resulting from a fractured limb, verbally bequeathed the bedstead he was then using, to the Lowell Dispensary. Two others have since been purchased, which are almost in constant gratuitous use.

When other organizations shall have ceased, or when an epidemic shall prevail, the old Lowell Dispensary will, no doubt, come to the front again, stronger and abler, to do the work originally contemplated by the late James G. Carney, its founder, without soliciting annual subscriptions.

THE HOWARD BENEVOLENT SOCIETY,

With a similar class of men as those of the Dispensary, for its managers, supplied food, fuel and clothing, to the needy, from 1840 to 1854.

The organizations for charitable purposes now in active operation in the city are the Old Ladies' Home,

Young Women's Home, St. Peter's Orphanage for girls, St. Mary's Orphanage for boys, St. John's Hospital.

These institutions are all doing useful work, and each of them is of sufficient magnitude to furnish material for some one of our members who is familiar with their operations, to prepare a paper for your edification.

THE LOWELL MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

Later known as the Ministry-at-Large, was organized in 1843, and for many years was under the successful charge of the Rev. Horatio Wood, whose ministrations were eminently satisfactory to its directors and patrons. His only successor, the present incumbent, is the Rev. H. C. Duganne, who is equally faithful, and with the aid of munificent legacies from the estates of the late Thomas Nesmith and Jonathan Tyler, respectively, has done much to ameliorate the physical wants of the poor of the city.

The bequests of these gentlemen, severally, are in the form of perpetual loans to the City of Lowell, upon which the City has obligated itself to pay semi-annual interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, forever, for the benefit of the poor of said city. The two sums, viz: \$25,000 and \$10,000, have been paid by the executors to the City, and its obligation to pay the interest according to the terms of the wills duly appears in the records of the City Council, as follows, viz:

[RESOLUTION No. 53. PASSED DECEMBER 27, 1870.]

"*Resolved*, That the City of Lowell accept the bequest of \$25,000, made by the late Thomas Nesmith in the first item of his last will and testament, a copy whereof is hereto annexed, for the purposes and upon the terms and conditions therein named; and that the City will forever pay to the Trustees named in said first item, and their successors in said trust, interest semi-annually upon the said sum, at the rate of six per cent. per annum."

[RESOLUTION No. 74. PASSED NOVEMBER 12, 1878.]

“*Resolved*, That the City Treasurer be and he is hereby authorized to pay to the Minister-at-Large, the interest now due and what may become due on the bequest of the late Jonathan Tyler, for the benefit of poor persons of the City of Lowell, and that the said Minister-at-Large be requested to make an annual report to the City Council, of the manner of dispensing said money.”

The two wills are alike in general detail, but differ in the amount of the legacy and in the mode of administration of the charity. Mr. Nesmith has described specifically the class of persons he desired to assist, while Mr. Tyler gives to “poor persons of the City of Lowell,” without specification. The first named appointed five trustees and provided for their continuous succession for all time. Mr. Tyler also appointed three trustees, who for reasons satisfactory to themselves declined the trust, deeming it better that the semi-annual payments of interest should be made by the City Treasurer directly to the Minister-at-Large, without the intervention of trustees. The form of the resolution before quoted coincides with this arrangement.

All that appertains to both of these legacies has now become public property. That part of Mr. Nesmith's will which relates to his legacy to the poor describes the class of persons he desired to assist, and shows characteristic care that its benefits shall never cease. With the permission of his family it is here presented :

FIRST ITEM IN THOMAS NESMITH'S WILL.

“Having formed the purpose to devote in charity a portion of the property which a kind Providence has allowed me to accumulate, and being impressed with the struggles in life of many people who linger between competency and poverty, who from accidental misfortune, sickness, failure of employment or other imperious

causes, are temporarily in need of charitable assistance, but are not paupers, and who by kindly assistance, sympathy and advice may soon become self-sustaining and self-reliant, not intending hereby to countenance or give encouragement to improvidence and idleness, but only to aid those who will be thereby encouraged and better enabled to sustain themselves, and wishing to establish a *fund* for that purpose, and to place the fund as far as possible beyond the peradventure of loss, and exempt from the care and responsibilities of the Trustees having the charge of disbursing the income of the same—I do, with the intent aforesaid, and for the purpose aforesaid, give and bequeath to the City of Lowell, in the County of Middlesex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the city where I reside, and to the inhabitants thereof as a body corporate, twenty-five thousand dollars to be by my Executors paid over to the Treasurer thereof within six months from the probate of this will, upon the condition that before the time of said payment the proper and constituted authorities of said city in a legal manner shall truly and legally resolve and vote, and make due record thereof, to accept the said sum of money as a fund to be held for the said purpose, and shall promise and shall pledge the said city and the inhabitants, in due form of law, to ever thereafter pay to the Trustees hereinafter named, and to their successors, six per cent. interest upon the said sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, annually, in semi-annual payments of seven hundred and fifty dollars for each and every half year thereafter, commencing in six months after said Executors shall have paid the said sum of \$25,000 to the Treasurer of said city.

“But in case said city shall not accept said sum upon conditions herein set out, then it is my will, and I do hereby give and bequeath said sum of twenty-five thousand dollars to my said Trustees hereinafter named, and to their successors, *in trust*, to be by them kept securely invested, and the income thereof shall be distributed for the purpose of charity and relief of the poor as herein expressed, and my said Executors are fully authorized and empowered to pay over the said sum, \$25,000, to said Trustees instead of to the Treasurer of the city.

“And further, in furtherance of this, my proposed charity, and in relief of the persons and people hereinafter described for charitable assistance, for the perpetuation of said charity, I do appoint George F. Richardson, John A. Buttrick, Owen Street, Samuel W. Stickney and Charles Hovey,* all of said Lowell, Trustees of said

* Mr. Stickney and Mr. Buttrick have since died, and their places have been filled by F. F. Battles and Thomas Nesmith, the only son of the testator, respectively.

fund and of the income thereof, who and their successors in said trust shall receive the said semi-annual payment of \$750, of said city, or the income thereof, and shall appropriate the same for the charity as is herein described, and to the persons described being residents of the City of Lowell without distinction of nationality, color or religious sect, in such manner and at such times as may to them seem most urgent and appropriate.

“But inasmuch as the missionary society in the city having a chapel and supporting a ministry-at-large, a portion of whose operations embraces the distribution of charitable supplies for like purposes and to like people as are by my Trustees to be cared for, and also to avoid, as far as may be done, imperfect or irregular distribution, it is my wish that my said Trustees shall unite with said Ministry-at-Large in the distribution of said supplies from said semi-annual income, or annually commit the said income wholly for the year to said Ministry-at-Large, for distribution, and especially so while the Rev. Horatio Wood, the present Minister-at-Large, shall occupy and fill the said office in said City of Lowell, having great confidence in the present operations of said Ministry-at-Large and in the distribution, and having in view further a distribution as effective as possible and with as little expense as possible.

“With this expressed wish and suggestion I do nevertheless commit the distribution, whether by the Ministry-at-Large or by other persons or organizations, to the careful judgment and determination of my said Trustees and their successors, who shall at all times and ever have and be at the responsibility of a general superintendence and control of said charity and its distribution by themselves or others; and the said Trustees and their successors shall require and obtain semi-annually from all distributors of said charity an exact account of the distribution of said income, and shall preserve the same, and shall themselves report annually to the Mayor of said City of Lowell, that they have received the said semi-annual payments of interest and have faithfully disbursed the same according to the will.

“In case of vacancy or inability from any cause, of any of said Trustees to act, the remaining, or one or more of them, shall report the same to the Supreme Judicial Court of this state, or any Justice thereof, in term time or vacation, and it is the intention of the testator that said Court or said Justice shall appoint a successor to fill such vacancy, upon such notice as shall by said Court or Justice be

deemed proper, that the said charity and the said trust may never fail to be wisely and effectually carried out forever.

“And as this fund is devoted to residents of the City of Lowell, I do respectfully request that said city accept said \$25,000, and by all necessary votes and records to promise, engage and bind said city and its inhabitants to pay said six per cent. interest (semi-annually) forever, as herein set forth; and I do charge my Executors promptly and earnestly to cause the contemplated arrangements to be made with the constituted authorities of said city, and thereupon to pay over to the Treasurer thereof, said sum of \$25,000, out of my moneys or property of my estate; and I desire to impress upon my Trustees and their successors and upon whoever shall act as dispensers of said *income*, that the trust be by them faithfully, tenderly and as privately as may be, performed through the years to come, *forever*, according to the design and for the purpose herein set forth, fearing and believing that there will always be found in the city the described object of this charity.”

There are two purposes in calling the attention of this body (which might not inaptly be called “the guardian of the History of Lowell”) to the beneficent gifts of Mr. Nesmith and of Mr. Tyler. One of these purposes is to edify its members by the reading of the will, and the other to preserve, by printing and the distribution of the documents, a history of these charities, and thus prevent any lapse of them through change of administration or multiplicity of civic “resolutions,” and in the words of the will, “That the said charity and said trust may never fail to be wisely and effectually carried out forever.”

III. Present Population of Lowell, by Nathan Allen, M. D. Read August 8, 1883.

THE census affords us the only sure guide on all matters concerning the numbers of a people. The census of 1880 reports the following figures for Lowell: Whole number, 59,475; males, 26,853; females, 32,622; making 5769 more females than males.

The birthplace of this population is reported as follows: Born in Massachusetts, 24,091; in Maine, 4070; in New Hampshire, 3901; in Vermont, 2054; but only 421 in Connecticut and Rhode Island both; born in all states out of New England, 1891; born in Canada, 7758, and in other British Provinces, 1010; born in Ireland, 10,670; in England, 2550, and in Scotland 650; in all other foreign countries, 405. Of the above there were 177 colored people.

The whole number of foreign born the census reports is 23,054, and the number born in the United States of foreign descent was 15,717, which added to the former makes the foreign element 38,771, while the purely American was 20,704 — only about one-third.

But while the present population of Lowell cannot be given by count or in exact figures, an estimate of its numbers can be made approximating very near the truth. It is but a little over three years since the census, in 1880, was taken. It appears that from 1875 to 1880 the census showed an increase of 9787, averaging almost

two thousand each year. But as the times were much better in 1878, '79 and '80, than in 1875, '76 and '77, the annual increase was much larger in these years. From the fact that since 1880 the times in Lowell have continued still more prosperous, the inference is that a still larger increase of population would take place. The following facts will throw light on the subject: Since 1880 there have been 3818 births in Lowell. Supposing one-third of them have died in the meantime, this would leave over 2500 still living. Since 1880 there has been, by actual count, an increase of 1613 school children — that is from 5 to 15 years of age.

Again, it is estimated by good judges, that within three years there have been built over 300 houses or blocks for dwellings, and that these would furnish over 600 tenements, each sufficient to accommodate five or six persons. This would make over 3000 additional population, as these tenements are now generally occupied. While we have no means of counting the immigrants or new comers, we may form some opinion from these statements.

In 1880 the census reported 7758 Canadian French. It is well known that this class has greatly increased within a few years. Some good judges compute their present number as high as 12,000. Then, in 1880 the census reported only 107 born in Sweden, while their present number counts nearly 500, as many have come here with large families. In 1880 there were only 21 natives of Portugal reported, but the number of Portuguese is now much larger.

From the best estimates we can make, the population of Lowell at the present time cannot come much short of 70,000, and it may even exceed that number. And it is safe to say that it was never increasing more

rapidly. Should prosperous times continue the population at the next census will exceed 80,000, and the time is not far distant when it will reach 100,000 inhabitants.

While attempting to make some estimate of the present and prospective numbers of our city, a few remarks respecting their character may not be out of place. While it would be unbecoming to eulogize a people of which we are a part, at the same time it is proper and just that the truth, the whole truth, should be stated, even if it proved very complimentary to them.

The first settlers of Lowell were a superior class of men — superior in energy, in enterprise, in sagacity and general character. Such, too, was the case with a large majority of the men and women who, from time to time, removed here from other places and states. The female operatives, in physical development and energy of character, were composed of the best young women in New England. Such was the character of the operatives in these mills for years. Many of these females became gradually permanent residents of Lowell; some finding work in shops and stores; others engaging in various pursuits, in house-keeping, in teaching, etc., and not a few entering into the domestic relation at the head of families.

As there was only a single man to twenty or thirty females, overseers and others having an excellent chance for acquaintance and selection among this large body of single females, found here the best possible specimens for wives. By this means, and through other channels, Lowell has been highly favored by having a high order of females at the head of its households.

The present generation are reaping great benefits as the sons and daughters of such men and women. The city itself is also indebted very much to the same source

for its steady and unequalled prosperity. The history of Lowell is in some respects remarkable, and will compare favorably with any other city in the land. For the largest manufacturing city, made up mostly of working people, and largely of a foreign element, we never have had riots, or serious strikes, or any difficulties here between employer and employé. There has never been but one failure among the incorporated companies, and even then the operatives lost nothing. For fifty years there have been less failures here on the part of individuals and private companies than in most other large cities.

Lowell has been remarkable for its mechanical industry, for its inventions and patents. No city can boast of so many patent-rights and where so much value is attached to them. Lowell furnishes several remarkable instances of individual enterprise, and at no period in its history was private enterprise so conspicuous as at the present time. It is not confined to mechanical business or trade, but is displayed particularly in real estate movements and building operations. This enterprise is not confined at home; several kinds of business are carried on in other places by Lowell citizens.

There is another development of this enterprise which has recently attracted public attention. This has opened a new kind of business for our people; it is trafficking in stocks and the management of companies in various localities. The enterprise in this direction has been carried on with a boldness and measure of success that has taken the public by surprise. From whatever point of view, whether from manufacturing or mechanical pursuits, whether in land speculations or in building operations, or dealing in stocks, the enterprise of our citizens is particularly marked at the present time.

But there are other things besides material interests which are indispensable to maintain the good name and reputation of a place. As a manufacturing city, made up largely of what is called a "factory population," is Lowell to be distinguished hereafter as it has been in the past for its intelligence, its virtue and morality? Or is it to be characterized as having a "factory population" like that in some parts of England, notorious for its poverty, its intemperance, its vice and its crime? It is needless to say that serious evils threaten us in this direction. As a city grows older such danger increases. The Police Court, the City Marshal and police officers have altogether too much business to do.

In the manufacturing cities of the old world as well as in large places in our own country, what proves the worst curse to a people, what causes the greatest amount of poverty and disease, of vice and crime, is the indiscriminate sale of intoxicating liquors. It is from this source, more than from any one and all others combined, that our danger lies, and never, perhaps, was it more threatening than at the present time. A great responsibility rests upon all persons who occupy positions of power and influence.

IV. Resolutions unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Old Residents' Historical Association, of Lowell, August 8, 1883, as a tribute of respect to the memory of the late Rev. Theodore Edson, S. T. D.

MR. CHARLES COWLEY reported the following preamble and resolutions :

Whereas, The Rev. Theodore Edson, S. T. D, one of the last of the Fathers of Lowell, has departed this life ; therefore,

Resolved, That, while leaving to the church of which he was so long the rector, and to the convocation of which he was the dean, their own proper work and labor of love, to prepare the full record of Dr. Edson's ministry of sixty years, the Old Residents who survive him cannot withhold from the minutes of an association which he helped to establish, some expression, however inadequate, of the unfeigned emotion with which his death has filled all hearts, nor withhold from him this sincere attestation : That in all simplicity and godly sincerity, in the spirit of humility and charity, in the purest love and the divinest faith, he labored intelligently, zealously and successfully, for the highest good of the entire community, and was, in all relations, "faithful unto death."

" Not the gray annals of an elder time,
Of joyful service and of faith sublime,
In rubricated name
Tell worthier fame."

Resolved, That, although, with characteristic humility, he chose for himself a lowly grave, marked only by the symbol of his salvation, rough-hewn in granite, it is due to his memory that some enduring public monument should be erected, which, speaking ever to the

eye of the people, should perpetually remind them of the great example he has bequeathed to them in the daily beauty of his unselfish Christian life.

Resolved, That there is no worthier way in which to express a proper appreciation of his character—no worthier way whereby to do honor to his memory—than by ensuring the perpetuity of the beneficent institutions which his charity founded—and notably the St. Mary's Orphanage, which was ever dear to his heart, and which, if properly endowed, would form his best memorial to posterity.

Resolved, That for his enlightened labors for the improvement of the public schools and the advancement of popular education; for the liberal provision which he sought to secure for the promotion of learning among the parochial clergy, by providing them with ample libraries at the expense of their parishes; for his life-long interest in history and other departments of literature, and for his own occasional contributions thereto, our late venerable and revered associate deserves to be held in grateful remembrance.

Resolved, That these resolutions be entered upon the minutes of our Association and published in our Contributions, and that copies thereof be transmitted to the Wardens and Vestry of St. Anne's Church and to the Eastern Convocation.

Mr. Cowley said that, although it had not been the custom of the Association to take any formal notice of the deaths of members, it had been thought desirable that some notice should be taken of this exceptional event.

The Rev. Dr. Edson had several separate titles to respect and remembrance. The first was that which he acquired by his pastoral work.

As the strenuous advocate of public schools, and of the best methods of instruction, in the early days of Lowell; as the champion of learning among the clergy; as the founder of the Rector's Library of St. Anne's Church; in these and many other ways he has well-grounded titles to our respect; but it is not necessary to dwell on these here and now.

As a historical association we cannot forget that our late venerable associate was a scholar, and a ripe

and good one. He was a warm lover and a critical student of history, and was endowed with a rich historical imagination, which made the past live again to him. Even in his religion he showed himself historically-minded. His church was especially dear to him because it represents historical Christianity, or Anglican Christianity. It was no small thing in his appreciation that the line of its bishops can be traced back in unbroken continuity from the primate who crowned Victoria in 1837 to the primate who baptized Ethelbert in 597. He no more doubted that St. Augustine met the British bishops under St. Augustine's oak and treated with them on the time of keeping Easter, than he doubted that William Penn met the Delaware Indians under the historic tree at Kensington.

Not the past only, but the present and the future also, shared his earnest attention. From the peaceful shades of his parsonage he looked out anxiously on the course of human events, not only in his own country, but in all lands on which the sun shines, and especially upon those events in which he saw the fulfillment of prophecy, or opportunities opened for the diffusion of Christianity.

The growth of so many English-speaking commonwealths on this continent, in Asia, in Africa, in New Zealand, and in Australia, which he witnessed during his four score years and ten, gave him great satisfaction, giving promise that our tongue may one day become the language of the whole earth, and that with the speech of England will spread the Church of England, which was ever dear to him—"the Church for which (as Southey says) Cranmer died at the stake and Laud on the scaffold."

No man watched the progress of the last Egyptian war with deeper interest than Dr. Edson, who thought

he saw in the Anglicanization of Egypt the approach of the time spoken of in the prophetic Psalms, when "the Morians' land shall stretch out her hands unto God."

Seeing the Khedive of Egypt becoming the lieutenant of the British crown; seeing the crown of the Ptolemies and Pharaohs, after lying in the dust for so many centuries, apparently about to be placed upon the brow of the British Queen, already decorated by the crown of the Mogul Emperors, the Rev. Dr. Edson saw boundless possibilities of growth for his cherished church; and, as he thought of the illustrious men who in other times graced the Patriarchate of Alexandria, his soul was filled with the hope that a branch of the Anglican Episcopate might be planted in that ancient city, who should be worthy successors of St. Clement and St. Cyril, and whose pulpits should resound with an eloquence which has been unheard there for ages.

Although Dr. Edson seldom wrote with a view to publication, "the art preservative of all arts" has given us the following:

EDSON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. "Christ, the True Light." A sermon before the convention of the Eastern Diocese, at Claremont, N. H., September 26, 1827.
2. Address before the Temperance Society in Lowell, Mass., April 4, 1830.
3. "Christ, the Children's Saviour." A sermon in St. Anne's Church, January 4, 1834.
4. Temperance sermon, No. 1 of the course, in City Hall, Lowell, February 21, 1841.
5. "The Rector's Library." A lecture in St. Anne's Church, Lowell, November 24, 1844.
6. "Christian Nurture and Admonition." Published for the author by Daniel Bixby, 1847.
7. Address at the opening of Colburn School in Lowell, December 13, 1848.

8. "Principles of Christian Union." A sermon in Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, N. B., September 2, 1853.

9. Sermon in St. Anne's Church, in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of its consecration, March 18, 1855.

10. Memoir of Warren Colburn, written for the American Journal of Education, November, 1856.

11. A Sermon in St. Anne's Church, after the interment of George H. Carleton. "The Memory of the Just is Blessed." March 8, 1857.

12. "I am the Resurrection and the Life." A sermon in St. Anne's Church, in memory of Charles H. Metcalf, January 17, 1858.

13. A Commemorative Sermon in the Church of the Advent, Boston, on the late Rev. Asa Eaton, D. D., April 27, 1858. [In describing the traits of the venerable Dr. Eaton, he unconsciously describes himself.]

14. "Independency and the Church." An essay at the Union Meeting of District Missionary Associations in St. Mathew's Church, South Boston, February 1, 1865.

15. A Commemorative Sermon on the 40th anniversary of the consecration of St. Anne's Church, Lowell, March 19, 1865.

16. A Historical Discourse on the 50th anniversary of the first introduction of stated public worship in the village of East Chelmsford, now the City of Lowell, March 8, 1874.

17. "That they all may be One." A sermon preached in the House of Prayer, Newark, N. J., May 27, 1875.

18. "A Sketch of the Life and Character of Paul Moody." Published in "Sketches of the Moody Family," by C. C. P. Moody.

Other productions of his have been published of which no copy can now be found; notably a sermon on the "Permanence of Christianity," an extract from which was much read in the schools, from the High School Reader, forty years ago.

REMARKS OF OTHER GENTLEMEN.

Mr. J. K. Fellows followed in a brief reminiscence of Dr. Edson, who was one of his earliest recollections in the city of Lowell. He knew him for fifty years, and was a near neighbor to him for ten or twelve years.

He bore testimony to his faithful and arduous service during the long period of acquaintanceship, and as a neighbor he could testify that the frequent calls made at the speaker's house, by parties in apparent distress inquiring for Dr. Edson, was sufficient evidence that his services were in constant demand. He never allowed inclement weather to interfere with a journey down town, if he thought his duty demanded it. He would come out as readily in the severest storms of winter as in the most favorable weather.

Dr. Nathan Allen bore testimony to the lively interest Dr. Edson had always taken in communications published in the local papers by the speaker, upon matters pertaining to public health. He also alluded to Dr. Edson's physical health, and considered him a rare example of a man physically and morally balanced to ensure a long life of labor in his chosen calling.

Additional remarks were made by Messrs. Ephraim Brown, T. B. Lawson and Alfred Gilman.

DR. JOHN O. GREEN'S REMARKS.

The notices of Rev. Dr. Edson, in our local associations, have been full and respectful. In the old residents he was always interested, and contributed four valuable papers to our first volume. In this, our first meeting since his death, some memorial of his life and labors seems peculiarly appropriate.

Having devoted all his life to one post of duty, he enjoyed better opportunities to mature plans of usefulness and to see blessed fruits ripen in fields of his own planting.

Called to his office in the freshness of his youth, his soul and heart and mind — almost his whole self — consecrated to his work, in spite of bent shoulders and

silvered head, the dew of his youth was never dried up. In the planning of his work and in its execution he laid out largely, as young men do, with years before them and conscious strength within them, to bring it to fulfillment. He began and ended with intense energy, with perfect fearlessness and fresh heart, with no thought of policy, or expediency, or the favor of man, with the endurance of strong faith and great hope. His deep sense of the responsibility of his office gave him a strong sense of its authority.

“The consistency which magnified his office was the complement of the humility that made little of the man.”

His devotion to his parish no one can doubt; his contentment with his lot and its duties arose from an aversion to change from principle—from the conviction that a long-continued ministry under the same pastor better promotes the stability of the churches, the soundness of the faith, and the healthful growth of piety.

The consecration of the energies of a whole long life to a single church and people gave broad scope for the blessed affections that spring from so hallowed an intercourse. So that, in the first moments of our bereavement, we call to mind his sincere and deepest sympathy for all, even the poorest of his flock, in the various scenes of joy and grief, so buttressed by an unerring faith and holy confidence, so firm and yet so gentle.

Understood or misunderstood, hampered and hindered by want of faith and selfishness in others, he clung to his parish and loved it. And what a pastor he was for work! His labors are monumental.

The parish register during his pastorate will show:

Baptisms	4204
Confirmations	1951
Marriages	1397
Funerals	2192
Present number of Communicants	519

The power of his will, the strength of his body, the pressure of his work, the sense of his responsibility, urged him on to work which he could not bear to have others undertake. And what a pastorate! with scarce an interruption from illness or absence, so full of labor, so earnest, so faithful, so successful. Its field not of his own parish only, but of the now populous city, grown up under his watchful eye and anxious care.

We gratefully call to mind his wisdom and firmness. Unimpassioned in controversy, yet so firm in his principles coupled by calm and gentle words, of clear and sound judgment and eminently useful and practical in council.

Those who only saw the habitual smoothness and serenity of his spirit could have little idea what rich treasures of energy and living force were wrapped up in him. He had a high-toned self-respect, a sensitiveness to clerical propriety in the smallest things, yet softened by Christian urbanity, always gentle but never weak, faithful to his life's end.

His churchmanship was of the noblest pattern—a churchman of the Bible and Prayer Book. The services of the church, as they were the choice and glory of his manhood, so they were the refreshment of his old age and the solace of his death. He was filled full of the spirit of his Master, which won for him the strongest affection of those who knew him best, the respect of the distant and the love of the near, his crown of faith and prayer and piety, a true servant and soldier of the cross, through every change of labor and trial.

At the close of Dr. Green's address the resolutions were unanimously adopted and the meeting adjourned.

*V. Sketch of the Life of Ezra Worthen, by
W. R. Bagnall. Read November 14, 1883.*

ALFRED GILMAN, ESQ. :

Dear Sir—In an article in No. 3, Vol. I., of the Contributions of the Old Residents' Association, there is a reference to Ezra Worthen, the first Superintendent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, and the expressed desire that more might be known concerning his ancestors and early life. In my researches, in preparing a work on "The Origin and Development of the Textile Manufactures of the United States," I have ascertained some facts in reference to Mr. Worthen which may be of interest to your Association, and I am happy to place them at your disposal.

Very truly yours,

WM. R. BAGNALL.

EZRA WORTHEN was descended from Ezekiel Worthen, who was one of the thirty-six freemen who, in 1666, were residents of that part of Salisbury, Mass., which was then incorporated as Amesbury. Of his parentage, and the place and date of his birth, little is known with certainty. It is believed that he was the son of the Widow Watten—that and Wathen being early modes of spelling the name—to whom reference is made in the Essex County Records of 1644, when her estate was settled and her son, Ezekiel, then a child of eight and a half years, was "put out as apprentice to Thos. Abie till twenty years old." The name of his father is not certainly known, but in the Essex County Court Records, in 1640, the name of George Wathen is

found in the case of "Wm. Peturs *vs.* George Wathen." The latter was a member of the church in Salem, in 1641. The name "George" is frequently found in different generations of the Worthen family, and it is very probable that George Wathen of Salem, in 1640, was the father of Ezekiel Worthen, and the ancestor of the Worthens of Salisbury and Amesbury.

The next fact known concerning Ezekiel Worthen was his marriage, in 1661, to Hannah Martin of Salisbury. He then fixed his residence in that part of the town then, and till the present time, known as Pleasant Valley. Several of his descendants have been prominent citizens of the town. Capt. George Worthen served with distinction in the French and Indian War of 1753-8, the company under his command being in the expedition against Crown Point. In 1776 Lieut. Ezra Worthen, father of the subject of this sketch, was one of the seven members of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence, chosen in Amesbury, as in the other towns of Massachusetts, to take the general direction of the patriotic movements of the people to secure the independence of the colonies. These committees were, everywhere, composed of the most substantial and influential citizens.

Ezra Worthen, senior, was born in 1734, and died December 7, 1804. He was a shipbuilder of much skill in his business, having added to much native mechanical talent a thorough training for the trade, and was a skilled draughtsman and constructor. Though he never had practical experience as a seaman, he had thoroughly learned the theory and science of navigation, and taught them in his latter years. His soundness of judgment and personal integrity secured for him the respect and confidence of his fellow-townsmen, as was evinced by his frequent election to offices of importance in the town.

His son, Ezra Worthen, junior, was born in Amesbury, February 11, 1781. He enjoyed the ordinary opportunities of the period and region for education, and at a suitable age was apprenticed to the trade of his father. In this he was so proficient that, at the age of twenty years, he undertook, in partnership with a fellow-workman, Hezekiah Challis, the building of a small vessel on their own account, the success of which undertaking proved both the skill and enterprise of one who had not yet attained his majority. Some three years later he engaged in a business, wholly diverse from that for which he had been trained, but which was a valuable preparation, in part, for the vocation of a manufacturer of textile fabrics, to which the last eleven years of his life were devoted, and in connection with which his name has heretofore been chiefly known.

About 1804 two English machinists, their names being Gookin and Shores, came to Amesbury, it is believed, from the neighboring town of Newbury where, in the parish of Byfield, Arthur and John Schofield, under the patronage of William Bartlett and other wealthy merchants and residents of Newburyport, had established, in 1794, the first woolen manufactory in this country, in which carding-machines, operated by power, were used. These carding-machines, in the course of the next twenty years, were set up in many of the towns in New England, usually in connection with the fulling-mills which had been in operation, many of them, for more than a century. One of the earliest—it is believed to have been the earliest—carding-machines in use in Middlesex County was set up in 1801 by Moses Hale in his fulling-mill on River Meadow Brook, within the present limits of Lowell.

The building of carding-machines became an important and profitable business in the first decade of this

century. In this business the English machinists, just named, engaged in Amesbury. Mr. Worthen soon entered their employ, his skill in the use of tools on wood-work rendering his services valuable in that part of the construction of the machines. He afterwards, in partnership with Samuel Kendrick, engaged in the business of selling the machines in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine, buying them of Messrs. Gookin & Shores. They then, under the firm of Worthen & Kendrick, commenced building machines, and Paul Moody, afterwards so well known as the machinist of Waltham and Lowell, was employed for some time as their agent, in selling and setting up the machines.

The versatility of Mr. Worthen's mechanical genius was manifested by his construction, about 1809, of a four-wheeled wagon, the first ever used or seen in that region, two-wheeled carts, only, having been previously used by farmers and traders for carrying hay, produce, or other merchandise.

In 1810, on the 17th of November, Mr. Worthen bought an interest of one-twelfth in what was then known as the middle saw-mill privilege, on the Powow River in Amesbury. There were three of these saw-mill privileges on the river, in immediate proximity, giving the village at an early period, the name of "The Mills." At one of these privileges, one of the earliest saw-mills in the colony was established in 1641. Whether Mr. Worthen's purchase in 1810 had any connection with his business as a manufacturer of carding-machines, is not known; but a deed, dated January 21, 1811, conveyed land "between Worthen's shop," etc., indicating that he then had a shop, and it was probably used for his mechanical business. That this business was well managed and lucrative was indicated by the fact that, at the begin-

ning of 1812, when he decided to engage in the manufacture of woolen goods, he had accumulated five thousand dollars, which was then considered a large sum of money.

On the 7th of February, 1812, Mr. Worthen purchased from Thomas Boardman, Ephraim Morrill and Jonathan Morrill, ten-twelfths of the privilege, of which he was already owner of one-twelfth by his purchase in 1810. The remaining one-twelfth belonged to William Ordway of Amesbury. On the 17th of June, 1812, Mr. Worthen sold one-third of the property to Paul Moody, of Amesbury; one-sixth to Thomas Boardman, of Amesbury; and one-twelfth to Samuel Wigglesworth, of Salisbury. On the 23d of the same month Mr. Wigglesworth bought the one-twelfth belonging to William Ordway. The four gentlemen then entered into partnership, their interests being, respectively, that of Mr. Worthen one-third, that of Mr. Moody one-third, that of Mr. Boardman one-sixth, and that of Mr. Wigglesworth one-sixth, and erected a mill for the manufacture of woolen goods. The mill was of brick, fifty feet long and thirty-two feet wide, and two-stories high, with attic and basement, each of which was utilized for the business. The manufacture, in its earlier years at least, was not, as has been stated, of satinets, but of broadcloth, such as was quite generally made, at that period, in the woolen mills of New England, usually of a coarse grade, but sometimes of a quality which would compare quite favorably with the finer imported cloths. The authority for this statement concerning the goods at first made in the mill of Messrs. Worthen & Company is James Squires, a venerable member of the Society of Friends in Amesbury, still living at the age of nearly ninety-four years, and whose memory is very distinct concerning the

early history of the mill. He says that "the old factory should not be called a satinet factory, for all-wool cloth—broadcloth—was made there." He spun the first yarn made in the mill, and had a coat made from the cloth woven from that yarn. He says, also, that "the name of the man who taught the operatives to weave was Schofield." This was, doubtless, James Schofield, a brother of Arthur and John Schofield, who, when they left Byfield and went, in 1798, the former to Pittsfield, Mass., and the latter to Montville, Ct., remained in north-eastern Massachusetts, residing for three or four years in Haverhill, and in 1802 establishing a small woolen mill near the mouth of the Cochicawick River in North Andover, the germ of the present Sutton Mills, which he carried on till about 1812. In 1813 he became superintendent for Nathaniel Stevens, a son-in-law of Moses Hale, of East Chelmsford, who in that year established the flannel manufacture of which he was the pioneer in this country, nearly a mile above the site of Schofield's mill, just spoken of. As there is no record of the employment of James Schofield elsewhere, in the interval between giving up business on his own account and his engagement with Mr. Stevens, it is quite probable that he was employed by Messrs. Worthen & Company to start their weaving department.

On the 13th of February, 1813, Messrs. Worthen, Moody, Boardman and Wigglesworth were incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts as a joint stock company, under the style of the Amesbury Wool and Cotton Factory, the partners holding the stock in the proportion of their previous interest. In 1814, Mr. Moody having decided to accept the invitation of the Boston Manufacturing Company that he should take charge of their machine shop at Waltham, sold his stock to James

Randlet, of Portsmouth, N. H., Jacob Kent, of Newbury, also becoming a stockholder about this time. In its early years and till the close of the war, the business of the factory was very profitable, as, in addition to demand for its regular product, with which there was but little if any competition of foreign goods, trade with Europe being almost wholly stopped, considerable and lucrative contracts were made and filled with the United States Government, for cloths to be made up into army clothing. On the declaration of peace and the consequent immediate and large importation of foreign cloths, the business of the company, in common with that of other woolen manufacturers, suffered greatly. Mr. Worthen, however, continued his connection with it as active manager till the spring of 1822. At that time the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, having been incorporated February 6, 1822, had commenced the erection of their first mill, and made the proposition to Mr. Worthen that he should remove to East Chelmsford and become their first superintendent. The selection was such as might have been expected. Mr. Moody, who knew well the ability and adaptation to the position of Mr. Worthen, and was his warm personal friend, would give his influence, then and always of the greatest weight with all concerned in the management of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, in his favor, and this alone would have been sufficient. Mr. Worthen had also been brought to the favorable notice of Patrick T. Jackson and Nathan Appleton, the originators of the company, by the fact that he had first suggested to them through Mr. Moody, the adaptation of the locality at East Chelmsford for the development of a great manufacturing interest. This fact, also, naturally inclined him to identify himself with the enterprise when

the opportunity for doing so was presented. The salary offered him, which was fifteen hundred dollars per year and house-rent free, was a liberal one in comparison with wages and salaries usually paid at that time. The company also proposed to give him, as a bonus, six shares of its stock, to be paid for out of its earnings or dividends. This, as the event proved, in the early development of a profitable business, was a valuable consideration.

Mr. Worthen accepted the offer and at once entered on his duties. These he discharged with much ability, and entirely to the satisfaction of the company, to the day—it may be said even to the moment—of his death, which occurred June 18, 1824. His state of health had for some time caused much anxiety to his friends. He had had for two or three years symptoms of the disease known as “angina pectoris.” He often suffered paroxysms of pain, and his physician had repeatedly cautioned him to avoid excitement and overwork. This was hardly possible for a man of his temperament. At the time of his death he was superintending the labor of some men who were digging for the foundation of a building, when, seeing one of them working awkwardly and inefficiently, he seized the spade to show him how he should handle it, and as he raised the spadeful of earth, he was seized with a spasm, fell to the ground, and expired instantly.

He was a man of much skill and versatility in mechanical matters, of great energy, and even excitability of temperament, quick-witted, bright, intelligent, and remarkably observant. An illustration of the latter trait was his remark that he could tell, from the operation of a loom—the way it worked—the peculiarities of the person who was running it. He spoke of course of

hand looms. He was of a kindly, genial nature, and was much beloved by his operatives, especially at Amesbury, where, during his connection with the mill, the employes were almost wholly natives of the town and members of families whose social standing was much the same as that of his own family. His relation to them was less that of a master than of a personal friend. At the Merrimack Mill he was more the superintendent, looked up to and, it may be, feared, yet having the good will of all; and his death, at the early age of forty-three years, was greatly lamented.

The following inscription on his tombstone, at Amesbury, gives the estimate of his character by those who knew him well:

“He was the first Superintendent of the great manufacturing establishment at Chelmsford, and in that capacity made full use of those great and rare talents with which his Maker endowed him. Distinguished by the power of his mind, and by uniform application to beneficial purposes, he was yet more eminent by the virtues of his heart. Prompt to conceive, and vigorous to execute plans of benevolence and usefulness, he was greatly beloved in life and lamented in death.”

*VI. The First Burns Celebration in Lowell, by
H. M. Ordway. Read November 8, 1883.*

AN interesting gathering of Robert Burns' countrymen occurred in our city on the evening of January 25, 1832. Some time previous to this meeting the Scotch residents employed on the Carpet Corporation, who were splendid specimens of the honest, steady yeomanry of the "old country," and in fact, the most intelligent portion of our foreign population, met together for the purpose of forming a Burns club.

After its organization they decided to observe the anniversary of their national poet's birthday, by giving a grand supper at the Mansion House, a hotel located where the Massachusetts boarding-houses have since been erected. Tickets were issued at one dollar each, and the banquet was attended by nearly all of the prominent gentlemen of the town. The genial and able agent of the Carpet Corporation, Alexander Wright, Esq., officiated as president, Dr. Elisha Bartlett being seated on his right, and Eliphalet Case, a prominent Universalist clergyman, occupied the chair on his left. Peter Lawson, an energetic, impulsive gentleman, who was well adapted to fill the position, was selected as toastmaster. David Polson and his son, with Charles Goldie, James Robinson and Thomas Holden improvised an orchestra of stringed instruments. The haggis, a favorite Scottish dish, was

prepared by Mrs. John Waugh and Mrs. Glaude Wilson. It is made of either a sheep's or calf's liver and lights, finely minced, to which is added scorched oat meal, beef suet, and salt and pepper. After mixing the ingredients, this meat pudding is enclosed in a sheep's stomach, tied at both ends, and boiled for three or four hours, when it is ready for the table. This savory dish is not recommended to dyspeptics, although immortalized by Burns in his poem "To a Haggis," as follows:

Fair fa' your honest, sounsie face,
Great chieftain o' the pudding-race;
Aboon them a' ye tak your place
Painch, tripe or thairm;
Weel are ye wordy o' a grace
As lang's my arm.

His knife see rustie labour dight
An' ent you up wi' ready slight,
Trenching your gushing entrails bright
Like onie ditch;
And then, O what a glorious sight,
Warm-reeking, rich!

After the introductory address to the haggis, by John Wright, brother of the President of the Association, the repast was partaken of, and after the table was cleared it was immediately refurnished with all the different wines the market afforded.

Among the many other gentlemen present on that occasion we recall the names of William Spencer, Samuel Mann, William Taylor, John P. Robinson, Perez Fuller, Royal Southwick, Josiah Gates, George W. Low, and Alanson Crane.

The first regular toast, "To the memory of Robert Burns," was responded to by the entire company rising and drinking to the memory of the departed poet. The president then introduced as the first speaker, Dr. Elisha Bartlett, who always was as ready to address a social gathering as he was to speak at a political caucus or

at a church meeting. He referred to the poet's home, his early life and literary labors, and recited Burns' poem of Highland Mary, which, he asserted, was alone of sufficient merit to immortalize his name. In closing he stated that although very familiar with the song, he had never heard it sung, and at the suggestion of the president, it was rendered quite effectively by Mr. Holden.

The next regular toast, "Scotland," was followed by some of the guests singing the song of Bannockburn, better known as Bruce's Address to his Army, commencing with "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled," after which the president called up Rev. Eliphalet Case, a clergyman possessing all the necessary qualifications to make a good speaker—editor, postmaster, and Democratic politician, all of which positions he afterwards attained. Mr. Case pleasantly alluded to Wallace and Bruce, Sir Walter Scott, John Knox, Mary Queen of Scots, Dr. Chalmers, and other eminent personages, eulogized the Scotch for their energy and integrity, and inquired whether Burns' poem of "The Cotter's Saturday Night" faithfully depicted Scottish life? which was answered by a strong "aye," by his countrymen present.

After all the regular toasts had been responded to, the party were entertained by the singing of the following songs, namely: "Honest Poverty," "Banks o' Doon," "Blue Bonnets over the Border," "Duncan Gray," and others.

The president then called for volunteer sentiments, which were readily furnished; for, by this time, my informant asserts, the entire company were getting to feel "unco merry" and happy.

John P. Robinson, a prominent lawyer at that time, presented pleasing remarks concerning Tam O'Shanter

and his gray mare, Meg. Perez Fuller, comic singer and humorist of considerable local repute, gave an impromptu medley containing laughable allusions to the different invited guests. Luke Eastman, another lawyer, somewhat renowned for his musical talents, sang "Ben Lary" and "Royal Charley," the company and orchestra uniting in the chorus. "Rule Britannia," rendered by a select quartette from the Merrimack Corporation, closed the musical exercises.

By this time the "wee" morning hours had arrived and an adjournment was suggested, much to the relief of the sleepless occupants overhead. While the president was making the closing remarks an interruption occurred, by one of the company attempting to sing "O, Willie brew'd a peck o' maut," in which effort he was encouraged and assisted by a number of others, much to the evident amusement of the president and audience. This song, so well adapted for convivial occasions, I present entire :

O, Willie brew'd a peck o' maut,
 And Rob and Allan cam to see;
 Three blither hearts, that lee-lang night,
 Ye wad na find in Christendie.
 We are na fou, we're na that fou,
 But just a drappie in our e'e;
 The cock may craw, the day may daw
 And aye we'll taste the barley bree.

Here are we met, three merry boys,
 Three merry boys, I trow, are we;
 And mony a night we've merry been,
 And mony mae we hope to be.

It is the moon, I ken her horn,
 That's blinkin in the lift sae hie;
 She shines sae bright to wyle us hame,
 But, by my sooth, she'll wait a wee.

Wha first shall rise to gang awa',
 A cuckold, eoward loon is he;
 Wha last beside his chair shall fa',
 He is the king amang us three.
 We are na fou, we're na that fou;
 But just a drappie in our e'e;
 The cock may craw, the day may daw
 And aye we'll taste the barley bree.

After singing this song the entire assembly, which by this time had become exceedingly democratic, arose and joining hands made the old Mansion House resound with the well-known air of "Auld Lang Syne," and thus closed the first observance of Robert Burns' birthday, in Lowell.

The gentleman to whom I am indebted for this information, further states that the scene he witnessed on that festive occasion, although of frequent occurrence in those primitive days, recalled what occasioned the misfortunes and early death of his beloved poet; and so, while returning to his quiet home, he resolved never again to indulge in the "flowing bowl," and that resolution he has ever since faithfully adhered to; and now, at the advanced age of nearly fourscore years, this vigorous, respected old gentleman, residing in a neighboring country village, attributes his well-preserved condition to his early-formed total abstinence principles, which he asserts always conduce to health, wealth, longevity and happiness.

VII. The Dedication and First Ringing of the Chime of Bells in the Tower of St. Anne's Church. Read by Benjamin Walker.

This event, so long and anxiously looked forward to, took place October 17, 1857, at St. Anne's Church. Long before the appointed hour for commencing services the house was filled with those who had gathered to participate in this interesting occasion.

At a quarter before ten the bells began ringing the changes, being played in the most artistic manner by Mr. James Harrison, who came with them from Troy. The Mayor and Aldermen came in in procession, preceded by the City Marshal and led by the Wardens to their appointed seats before the chancel. The Vestry followed in order with the Committee on the Chime, Mr. Hitchcock, of Troy, and others, being specially invited. Morning Prayer was then said by Rev. Dr. Edson, the rector. The Venite and Te Deum were performed by a full choir and the organ. The 150th Psalm of the Psalter was also chanted by the choir, with the Gloria in Excelsis.

The following address and resolutions were then read by Dr. J. O. Green, the junior warden :

FELLOW CITIZENS—In compliance with a request from the Vestry of St. Anne's, acting in behalf of the Parish, we are assembled in the presence of his Honor the Mayor and the members of the City Council, to commemorate the consummation of a work which has been the hope and desire of many hearts. Among the

earliest acts of the founders of this city, with characteristic forethought and sound judgment, was the selection of this spot for a church lot, the erection of these walls of stone within which we are now assembled, and their solemn consecration to the worship of Almighty God.

Here they worshipped; around this altar they shared the holy mysteries of our religion; through these aisles were they borne in solemn procession on their last journeys to their graves.

The lapse of more than thirty years still leaves the chaste and simple architecture of the church unchanged. Many of the original members of the parish still remain and tread with almost filial reverence these holy courts. Our first and only rector is still spared to us in full vigor and usefulness, the object of veneration and regard to his large parish and to this whole city.

With these associations and memories crowding around us, our assembling is no formal act of ostentation on our part, but prompted by a sincere desire to testify our sense of obligation for the honor conferred upon us.

About eighteen months since, some public-spirited gentlemen conceived the enterprise of purchasing by subscription a chime of eleven bells, the fullest and most perfect which American skill and science could produce, to add to the attractions of our beloved city. It was a novel and bold undertaking, demanding the exercise of extraordinary determination and judgment and perseverance, all which have been met and more than met in the person of one gentleman to whom now and always must be awarded the chief honor of its accomplishment. It was for him to concentrate public attention upon the object, to answer in the spirit of candor and kindness the objections of the cautious, to stimulate the hesitating and to reconcile the disaffected.

The sum of \$4,262.90 had been subscribed for this purpose. Among the donors are represented all classes, ages, professions and employments in this community. Rich and poor, high and low, ladies and gentlemen, the children of the public schools, every shade of religious opinion and political party, have united to contribute this large sum of money, while single bells have been given to perpetuate the memory of the departed, to honor the office of the chief pastor of our church, the name of our respected rector, and as tokens of special liberality.

So soon as the success of the undertaking was made sure, after suitable deliberations, the execution of the work was committed to

an ambitious and enterprising firm in the neighboring State of New York, and by them has reached a triumphant and happy completion.

The names, weight and inscriptions of the several bells are as follows :

Eb, 2271 lbs. Hedrick Bell.

"From the tower of St. Anne's, we praise thee! O God, and celebrate thy blessing on the generous endeavors of George Hedrick, Esq., and other citizens and friends whereby we were placed here to ring thy praise. *Gloria Patri et Filis Spirituique.* A. D. 1857."

F, 1448 lbs. Citizens' Bell.

"Art is the handmaid of human good. We were purchased through the generosity of the citizens of Lowell. A. D. 1857."

G, 1134 lbs. Parish Bell.

"First public worship in the village (now Lowell), by Rev. Theodore Edson, March 7, 1822. St. Anne's Church consecrated March 16, A. D. 1825. Allan Pollock and Warren Colburn first Church Wardens."

Ab, 956 lbs. Historical Bell.

"Merrimack Company began work A. D. 1822. Town of Lowell incorporated A. D. 1826. City Charter granted A. D. 1836. A. D. 1857."

Bb, 783 lbs. Ole Bull Bell.

"This bell was the gift of Ole Bull, the great violinist of Bergen, Norway, A. D. 1857. Honor to whom honor is due."

B, 683 lbs. Musicians' Bell.

"To the memory of Handel. Born A. D. 1684, died A. D. 1758. Presented by the principal musical professors and amateurs of Lowell, A. D. 1857.

"To music! Noble art divine,
Ring forth, ye bells, a merry chime."

C, 608 lbs. Hovey Bell.

"A memorial to George H. Carlton, late Junior Warden of St. Anne's Church. Presented to the church by Charles Hovey as an expression of affection for his early master and late partner. A. D. 1857."

Db, 565 lbs. Bishop's Bell.

"Rt. Rev. Manton Eastburn, D. D., Bishop of Massachusetts. Consecrated December 26, 1842. *Tanquam Dei dispensatorem. Epistola ad Titum.*"

D, 530 lbs. Rector's Bell.

"Presented by the Ladies of St. Anne's Church, to perpetuate the memory of their beloved and devoted pastor, Rev. Theodore Edson, D. D., Rector of the Parish since the consecration, A. D. 1825. Blest is the tie that binds our hearts in Christian love."

Eb, 481 lbs. Founders' Bell.

"Jones & Hitchcock, Troy, Rens. Co., N. Y. August, A. D. 1857."

F, 460 lbs. Ayer's Bell.

"Presented by James C. and Frederick Ayer, Chemists, Lowell, A. D. 1857. *Omnibus que prosunt sequimur.*" [Our aim is health for all.]

Total weight of the chimes, 9899 lbs.

The tower of this church—the object of our sacred regard, the oldest and most central church edifice in the city—the election of the donors has decided to make the depository of this most appropriate ornament to its hallowed character.

Situated in the very centre of our hives of industry, in near proximity to our halls of city legislation and official authority, in one of our busiest thoroughfares, allow us to indulge the hope that their peaceful sounds may serve to soothe the angry passions of party warfare and jarring interest. Flanked on either side by the consecrated temples of religion, may their harmonies tend to remove or blunt the asperities of sectarian zeal, and when time in the long lapse of years has clustered around these bells the associations of home and kindred, long lost and well-nigh forgotten, may their welcome notes cheer the heart of the returning wanderer and draw forth the tear of grateful recognition and affectionate regard.

"Toll at the hour of prime,
Matin and vesper chime,
Lovely old bells from the steeple high—
Rolling like holy waves
Over the lowly graves,
Floating up, prayer-fraught, into the sky.
Solemn the lesson your lightest notes teach,
Stern is the preaching your iron tongues preach,
Ringing in life from the bud to the bloom,
Ringing the dead to their rest in the tomb."

At a meeting of the rector, wardens and vestry of St. Anne's Church, holden October 16, 1857, it was

Resolved, That the grateful acknowledgments of this parish are due and are hereby respectfully tendered to all the subscribers and donors of the chime of bells, but especially to Mr. George Hedrick, of this city, to whose unwearied attention, zeal and perseverance we are mainly indebted for this most appropriate and useful ornament to our venerated church.

Resolved, That we accept the trust of its care and maintenance in the spirit of generous confidence and Christian liberality with which it has been tendered, and in the earnest hope that all its associations and influences may tend to the advancement of God's glory, the good of his church, and the safety, honor and welfare of this people.

Resolved, That these resolutions be publicly read on the day of the opening, and entered on the records of this vestry.

A true copy of the record.

Attest,

O. E. CUSHING, Clerk.

Next followed an address by Rev. J. L. Jenkins, pastor of the First Congregational Church in this city, of which the following is a copy :

ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS — We have in this day's event occasion for mutual congratulation. No royal honor has been conferred upon us. No parchment with kingly signature and seal has given us new dignities and privileges. We have raised no triumphal arch, no monumental column; we have erected no statue; we have completed no great enterprise, promising in return a good per cent., with increased comfort or enlarged business facilities; a work less conspicuous than these, I dare not say less important or bearing less directly and efficiently upon the welfare of our city, is consummated, and in this we find cause for mutual congratulation.

It is the vaunting boast of our age that it is practical; that it spends energy, time and money only upon what produces immediate and material results—results which can be seen, taken hold of and valued. This sentiment, as opposing what is visionary, we should approve and indulge; as a restraining force we need it; out of its

proper limits it becomes hurtful and debasing. From its unrestrained indulgence I believe we, as a nation and a community, are suffering. Surely everything cannot be brought to this test.

The money expended upon schools and upon religious organizations and enterprises does not directly enrich the public treasury; and yet it is not misapplied. We all say it is a wise and judicious expenditure; it gives ample return; it makes our citizens more intelligent and better men. This is the aim of both the church and state.

Among us, I fear, it is made a secondary, inferior end; for I have noticed here, as elsewhere, that when a retrenchment in public expenses is made, our educational institutions are the first to suffer. French, drawing, music, graceful needlework—these as unpractical are thrown by. The leaf is as essential to the beauty and life of the tree as the branch, and so these are indispensable to a thorough education. We educate the coarser qualities of the mind; its finer sensibilities and tastes we let alone. The large, hard muscles are not so necessary to life as the smaller arteries and nerves.

It is more important to regulate the passions, to elevate and refine the affections, to quicken and warm the emotions, than it is to store the mind with facts and formulæ. In our zeal for what is *practical*, we have lost sight of this truth. Philosophy, experience, and Scripture we have set aside. We have insisted that a man's life consists in the abundance of the things which he possesses. We make the *quantity* rather than *quality* our standard, even in matters of education. We keep with great diligence body and mind, forgetting how explicit the scriptural precept is, "Keep thy heart with all diligence"—as if all efforts were to be directed to this; but as efforts here produce no tangible results, we think them impolitic and useless. We are seeing the falsity of this; we are beginning to learn that unseen influences are, like the air, pervasive and life-giving. Our City Library is an expense to us, yet we cheerfully and gladly sustain it, for it educates and improves our citizens.

In many cities it is thought a proper expenditure of money to secure, during summer evenings, music upon public grounds. I see not how one can question the propriety of such a course. The money laid out upon public squares and cemeteries is an illustration bearing upon this point. It is a concession to the demands of man's higher and better nature. The force of these tastes is found in the fact that our material, money-loving people have been compelled to regard and provide for them. I rank them among the strongest

elements of human nature, and which by all means should be brought over to the side of virtue and religion. They are avenues of approach to the soul—that central fortress—and we should pre-occupy them.

Through the senses evil *may* enter; so *may* good. It is wise to make them the highways of purity and piety. The lust of the eye, can it not be subdued so that sight may help devotion? The sense of hearing, need it always be given to the service of evil, for does not *faith* come by hearing? It is then an obvious duty to train these tastes, these susceptibilities, to be helps to sound morality and religion.

Whatever aids this deserves our countenance and cheerful support. I congratulate you, fellow-citizens, that to-day we receive among us a *new influence* for good—a new ally upon the side of temperance, purity and holiness. With fitting services do we welcome to their helpful work these unheeding bells.

The power of an influence, either for good or evil, we cannot estimate. Like the great forces of nature—heat and light—it is impalpable. Climate—you know its effects upon the physical and mental constitution. You know, too, how peculiarity of country gives character to its inhabitants. You know how insensibly a child is moulded by the spirit that pervades his home. You can tell at once whether he has been brought up under the genial warmth of a cheerful and refined piety or amid coarseness and irreligion.

A whole community is often impressed by one ruling mind. Whole periods in history bear the stamp of their mightiest spirits. A single work of art has influenced generations. The quicker, more forceful elements in our nature respond to these subtle influences, and hence their power. Bell-metal is sonorous; but were it not for sentiments and emotions hidden in man's spirit and to which sound appeals, it would have no effect upon us. As it is, sound is the spark which dropped into these quick, living sensibilities, kindles them into a flame. At the storming of Quebec, while the British troops were retreating in great disorder, the general complained to a field-officer of the bad behavior of his corps. "Sir," said he, "you did wrong in forbidding the pipers to play this morning; nothing encourages the Highlanders so much in the day of action. Even now they would be of use." "Let them blow, then," replied the general, "if it will bring back the men." The pipers played a favorite air, and the Highlanders, the moment they heard the music returned and formed with alacrity in the van.

Men do not question the power of speech. We almost revere the orator who sways and bends the will of his fellows. There is an influence more potent than this. Oil will find its way into crevices where water cannot penetrate. So song, music will find its way where speech can no longer enter.

Napoleon had a strict regard to the tunes which were played by the soldiery on particular occasions. It is said that when crossing the Alps if the soldiers hesitated in their march, he ordered the bugles to sound their liveliest notes; and if some obstacle forced them to halt, the whole band were ordered to peal forth the charge to battle, which never failed to bear them triumphantly over the most formidable difficulties. It is idle to deny real power to such an influence.

We have done something more than place so many pounds of bell-metal in this tower. We have brought in a *new* influence, a *new* force. Do you ask how it will make itself felt? Just as the flower diffuses fragrance and as the sun gives forth heat and light. It is one of those influences under which the purer and gentler elements of our nature expand and grow. Light, air, music and flowers—there is no concord between them and vice. Wherever this chime is heard it will appeal to man's nobler and better impulses. Nor shall it appeal in vain.

"Heaven wills these simple things should give
Lessons to teach us how to live."

Whatever attaches man to the soil makes him a better citizen. Hence we say he should be a landholder. Hence civil power lays out parks and gardens; founds and fills libraries and galleries of art. Natural objects do the same. How the Swiss loves his home and its mountains! The echo of his horn among the Alps makes him a better citizen. We talk much of patriotism. We have not analyzed it; we have not followed up to its sources, and should we, very many might be overlooked. We should think them too trifling for our notice, when they might prove in fact the most important.

A monk, after years of banishment in a foreign country, was returning home; the long voyage was well-nigh over. As the sun dropped behind the waters and its glimmer died upon them, the vessel turned into a frith upon the northern coast of Ireland. In the dim twilight the monk looked upon the familiar shore, and on the still air came down from the distant hills the soft chiming of evening bells. Their well-remembered and loving tones smote upon his swelling heart and broke open the fountains of feeling and life.

I have read of a New Englander whose adventurous spirit led him into the heart of an African desert. Exhausted by heat and thirst he sank down under the burning sun to die. A dreamy stupor came over him ; it brought a vision of his far-distant home. It was the Sabbath, and with strange distinctness the old church-bell gave forth its familiar tones ! Sweetly and soothingly they fell on the ear of his excited fancy. He took in nourishment from the imagined sound ; he awoke refreshed, and lived to hear with tears the old church-bell of his native town, which he resolved never again to leave. The sources of such attachment are not to be scoffed at and deemed fanciful.

It is a pleasant feature of this occasion that we meet as fellow-citizens, having a common joy at the successful completion of a work which has met and overcome not a little indifference, if not positive opposition. It is to the credit of our city that while we are a hard-working people and without great wealth, we have had the discernment and liberality to put money to so good a use. Here the pleasing mingles with the useful.

It was a wise thought with the projectors of this enterprise, who gave to it its general, unsectarian character, which presented its claim to men of all persuasions, and asked them to aid in a work for the common good. Wise, because men love and value that which they pay for wholly or in part. A local attachment is thus formed—a public spirit encouraged. Let, then, this chime of bells—a substantial proof of the taste and liberality of our citizens—be devoted to no party, to no sect. Let it be given to no object less general than the welfare of our whole city.

As fellow-citizens we have united in this work. Let it be the pledge that in the future, of whatever sect or party we are, we will cordially unite in all efforts which seek wisely to promote the good of our citizens. One good work done should be the seed of others.

My words of congratulation must close. Our work is done. Fairly secured, we leave the chime to its appointed task, only delaying to repeat Schiller's words :

“ Its name be *Concord*. Let its sound
To all who hear its summons, a signal be
For brotherly good will and harmony—
Of solemn and eternal things
Let it discourse from mouth of brass,
And as its peal upon the ear
Falls heavily and dies away,
’T will teach how nought abideth here,
How all things earthly must decay.”

The verse "Praise God, all creatures here below," was then sung to the tune of "Old Hundred," accompanied by the bells, without the organ, by the choir and the congregation, after which followed the benediction.

After the services in the church, Mr. Harrison, of Troy, continued playing the chimes in a great variety of tunes. The novelty attracted crowds of our fellow-citizens; and there seems to be but one opinion, that these bells will prove one of the most attractive ornaments to the city.

The occasion has been one of great interest, and the manner in which all was managed reflects great credit on all concerned.

BISHOP EASTBURN'S LETTER.

BOSTON, October 16, 1857.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—I have this morning received your obliging note; and I take this opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks for the honor done myself in inscribing my name on one of the bells. I wish the name had been one more worthy of such a distinction; at all events, however, the bell could not have been marked with the name of one who could rejoice more than I do in the addition of such a feature to the attractions of your town as a chime of bells on the tower of St. Anne's. In all my future visitations to your parish may it assist, with God's blessing, in raising many a heart to the contemplation of that world of harmony and love which has been opened for us by our dear Lord and Saviour, and of which the music of Sabbath bells is so touching a remembrance.

I beg that you will apologize for my absence on the occasion of to-morrow's celebration. It would have been most pleasant for me to be present, but my engagements forbid that enjoyment. I will do what I can to procure the attendance of some of the subscribers.

With my congratulations to you on this pleasing event in the history of St. Anne's, I am faithfully and truly yours,

MANTON EASTBURN.

REV. DR. EDSON.

VIII. Paul Moody, by Rev. W. R. Bagnall.

THE natural result of the remarkable development of textile industries in the United States was the establishment of shops especially for the manufacture of the great variety of machines called for by those industries, a demand which the inventive genius and practical skill of New England mechanics have supplied, both by the invention of many new machines and by great improvements on the models furnished them from abroad. At first these shops, not only for repair but for construction, were regarded as an essential part of the factory, and it was usual in the early history of the cotton and woolen industries of New England to build and equip either a separate building or the basement of the manufactory, for a machine shop, and in the latter case, not only its location but the necessity of the business made its construction and equipment the first thing to be done.

In process of time, with the rapid increase of factories, it was found desirable and even necessary to be able to anticipate the erection of the mills by the preparation of the machinery, orders for which could be given to men competent to superintend the construction of the machines.

Such men did not then exist in sufficient numbers that one should go to each new factory in New England.

This is evident from the fact, which is a matter of record, that within the two or three years preceding the war with Great Britain, in 1812. besides numerous enterprises controlled by individuals, charters were granted by the Legislature of Massachusetts alone for some ninety corporations for the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods, with authorized capitals of from \$50,000 to \$450,000.

The consequence was that the first independent machine shop to make cotton and woolen machinery was established at Pawtucket, R. I., about 1810, by David Wilkinson, one of the most ingenious and skillful mechanics of his time, and the second at Pawtucket in 1813, by Sylvanus Brown, who, a mill-wright by trade, had been employed by Samuel Slater in the erection and equipment of his first mill; he was the father of James S. Brown who inherited the business of his father and continued it till his death in 1880, at the age of 80 years.

The third establishment, and that which has obtained the highest reputation as well as developed the most extensive works in this especial industry in the United States, was the Lowell Machine Shop, originally established in the same relation to the Merrimack Manufacturing Company at Lowell as that sustained by the earlier machine shops of which we have spoken as generally attached to the cotton mills of New England in the first quarter of this century, but becoming an independent shop in 1825, when it became the property of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River, on the reorganization of that company, and transferred to a new corporation in 1845. Its first manager was Paul Moody, the worthy compeer of David Wilkinson.

Paul Moody was born in Byfield Parish, in the town of Newbury, Mass., May 23, 1779. He was descended in the sixth generation from William Moody, a saddler by trade, who came with his wife and four sons from Ipswich, England, to Ipswich in New England, in 1634, and early in the next year, with others from Ipswich, commenced the settlement of Newbury. His oldest son, Joshua, graduated at Harvard College in 1653, and was the first minister of the First Church in Portsmouth, N. H., and in 1684 removed to Boston, and was settled as minister of the First Church in that town. In 1684 he was elected President of Harvard College, but declined the office. He was among the most popular and useful ministers in the first century of the colonial history, but about the close of his pastorate in Boston found his influence much abridged by his manly resistance to the witchcraft delusion, which so strangely effected other leading ministers, among whom was Cotton Mather. He returned to the charge of his former church at Portsmouth in 1692, and died in 1697.

His son Samuel and his nephew, also named Samuel, graduated at Harvard College, the former in 1689 and the latter in 1697. Both of them became ministers, one of New Castle, Me., the other of York, Me.

Of William Moody's descendants in the next century fifteen graduated, nine of them from Harvard and six of them from Dartmouth College. Of these perhaps the most widely known was Rev. Samuel Moody, who was born in York, Me., in April, 1726. He graduated at Harvard College in 1746, and after studying theology and preaching acceptably in several places, but without accepting any invitation to become a settled pastor, engaged as a teacher in his native town. Here he had so much success that in 1763 he was invited to

take charge of the Dummer Academy, in Newbury, Mass.

This institution was the first of a class of institutions which afterwards became numerous in different parts of New England, occupying a place intermediate between the common school and college. It was founded in 1762 under the provisions of the will of Gov. William Dummer. It was opened for pupils February 27, 1763, and for nearly a century maintained a high reputation. Samuel Moody was its principal until 1790. Among his pupils at different times were those who were afterwards eminent in various professions and positions of life. A distinguished governor of the state, Hon. Caleb Strong, LL.D.; Presidents Joseph Willard, D. D., and Samuel Webber, D. D., of Harvard University; Hon. Theophilus Parsons and Hon. Samuel Sewell, Chief Justices of Massachusetts Supreme Court; Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, President of United States Congress, 1785-'86; Rev. Eliphalet Pearson, LL.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in Harvard College and Andover Theological Seminary; Rev. David Tappan, D. D., Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College; Rev. John Smith, D. D., Professor of Languages in Dartmouth College, and Hon. William Prescott, LL.D., who was early in this century a leading lawyer in Boston and the father of the historian, were of the number..

The father of Paul Moody was a man of much influence in the parish and town, his name frequently appearing as "Captain Paul Moody." He was the father of seven sons, of whom two, Samuel and Nathan, graduated at Dartmouth College, and afterwards resided in Hallowell, Me., the former being a teacher and the latter a merchant. Enoch was a farmer of Newburyport. Sewall and William were farmers, and remained

in their native parish, Byfield. David, the youngest, was for many years the superintendent of the iron works on the Boston mill-dam. Paul, the subject of this sketch, was the sixth son. He alone of the boys did not attend the Dummer Academy, but he knew how to educate himself. At the age of twelve years he decided that farming was not the occupation for him, and deliberately resolved to be no longer dependent on the family.

In June, 1794, a small woolen factory was established at the falls of the river Parker, in Newbury, by Arthur and John Schofield, English weavers, who had recently come to this country, the capital being furnished for the undertaking by William Bartlett and others, of Newburyport. This was the first incorporated woolen factory in Massachusetts. The weaving was done on hand-loom, and young Moody repeatedly applied to one of the weavers to teach him the art of weaving, but he refused. One day, returning to his labor, the weaver found that his loom would not work, and after a very careful examination he discovered a small obstruction so applied as to affect the movement of the loom. He immediately said, "Paul Moody is the only one who could have done it." Paul soon after found another workman who was willing to teach him, and at the age of sixteen had become a practical weaver.

A few years later Jacob Perkins, of Newburyport, then probably the most ingenious and versatile mechanic and inventor in the country, having invented an effective machine for cutting nails, put up in a part of the woolen factory in Byfield some of these machines, and employed Paul Moody to work for him. Mr. Perkins soon removed the business to Amesbury, Mass., Moody accompanying him.

In September, 1798, in his twentieth year, Paul Moody was married to Miss Susan Morrill, of Amesbury. How he was employed for the next fourteen years we have no definite information. It is hardly probable that with his skill and enterprise he would have remained as an employé during this whole period.

The nail factory had indeed become a considerable mill before 1805, as when it was burned in that year, on the 24th of December, the loss was said to have been \$80,000. The property was purchased in 1805 by William Gray, Jr., of Boston, and other gentlemen, and a corporation formed under the style of the Amesbury Nail Factory Company, with an authorized capital of \$450,000. Whether Paul Moody was employed by this concern, as the successor of Jacob Perkins, is not known.

At some time before 1812 he was employed by Kendrick & Worthen, who were building carding-machines at Amesbury, in setting up these machines at different places in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He had become familiar with both woolen and cotton machinery, developed as it then had been at the factory at Byfield, as before he removed thence to Amesbury, John Lee, who succeeded the Schofields in the charge of the Byfield mill, had introduced the manufacture of cotton goods, and as he had recently come from England, he had doubtless brought with him such improvements as had then been made.

In 1812 Mr. Moody decided to engage in manufacturing, and with Samuel Wigglesworth, of Salisbury, purchased on the 12th of March, 1812, one of the three saw-mill privileges which were in the same immediate vicinity, on the Powow River, at what was then and is still known as "The Mills," a name given to the village

in the last century, on account of the establishment of these mills. Messrs. Moody and Wigglesworth did not change the business of the mill, but a year later sold the mill to Jonathan Morrill, of Amesbury. In June, 1812, Mr. Moody entered into partnership with Ezra Worthen and others.

Ezra Worthen had purchased on the 7th of November, 1810, from Samuel Ordway, one-twelfth of the middle of the three saw-mill privileges just referred to, but the business was continued as before till the spring of 1812.

On the 7th of February, 1812, Mr. Worthen purchased from Thomas Boardman three-twelfths, from Ephraim Morrill four-twelfths, and from Jonathan Morrill three-twelfths, of the same saw-mill privilege, thus becoming owner of eleven-twelfths of the property, William Ordway being owner of the other one-twelfth.

On the 17th of June, 1812, Mr. Worthen sold four-twelfths of the property to Paul Moody, two-twelfths to Thomas Boardman of Amesbury, and one-twelfth to Samuel Wigglesworth of Salisbury. The latter gentleman on the 23d of June purchased the one-twelfth belonging to William Ordway, so that the owners of the property then were: Ezra Worthen, one-third; Paul Moody, one-third; Thomas Boardman, one-sixth, and Samuel Wigglesworth, one-sixth. The four gentlemen formed a copartnership, and at once erected a factory of brick, two-stories high, and commenced the manufacture of satinets, a fabric then in common use for the ordinary clothing of men and boys, having a cotton warp and wool filling. They also obtained contracts from the government for cloth for the army.

The business having been fairly established, the partners petitioned for a charter as a corporation, which

was granted February 16, 1813, the style of the company being the Amesbury Wool and Cotton Manufacturing Company, with an authorized capital of \$46,000, the stockholders being, besides the four gentlemen named above, Jacob Kent and James Randlett.

About this time the attention of some merchants of Boston had been directed to the manufacture of cotton goods, and on the 23d of February—one week from the date of the charter of the Amesbury Wool and Cotton Manufacturing Company—Messrs. Francis Lowell, Patrick T. Jackson and others, were incorporated as the Boston Manufacturing Company. Their works were in process of erection and they were looking for a suitable person to superintend the setting up of the machinery and to start the mill. They first applied to Jacob Perkins, whose reputation as a mechanic indicated superior fitness for the position. He had decided to remove from this part of the country, and went first to Philadelphia, and in 1818 to London, where he resided until his death in 1849, being engaged in perfecting machinery and engines operated by steam-power. He suggested Paul Moody as the most competent person within his knowledge for the situation. Mr. Moody was at once invited to go to Waltham. Accepting the invitation he removed thither with his family in 1814. His position from that time was not only one of great responsibility but afforded ample scope for his energy and mechanical skill and ingenuity. Associated with gentlemen of broad views, great enterprise and abundant capital, and for the first three years—the critical and decisive ones—with Mr. Lowell, who added to the above characteristics very exact knowledge of the mathematical principles involved in the construction of machinery and an insight into mechanical devices, which fitted him

admirably to appreciate the work of such a man as Paul Moody, the latter was supported and encouraged to the utmost endeavors. His success during the nearly ten years of his engagement at Waltham was such as to more than meet the expectations of his employers. Soon after removing from Amesbury he sold his interest in the Amesbury Wool and Cotton Manufacturing Company to James Randlett, of Portsmouth, N. H., one of the stockholders.

In the machine shop at Waltham he not only repaired and manufactured the machinery for the mills there but developed a large business in building machinery for other cotton mills. His attention was soon directed to the improvement of special adjustments and to the invention of new machines for particular processes. In some of these he made a new departure, and together with the invention of the power-loom by Mr. Lowell, thereby developed what was known as the Waltham system, as distinguished from the Rhode Island system, of the cotton manufacture.

Mr. Moody's earliest patent was granted May 10, 1816, and was for a winding-frame. A more important machine for which he received a patent January 17, 1818, was one by which the warp was dressed, preparatory to weaving in the power-loom. This process had not been requisite in the hand-loom with its slow movement and the careful handling of the shuttle by the weaver; but on the introduction of the power-loom some preparation of the warp-yarns, whereby they might have greater rigidity and be less liable to break in the passage of the shuttle, became a necessity. An early English machine for the purpose was that of Thomas Johnson, a weaver, of Bredbury in Cheshire, England, patented February 28, 1803, and June 2, 1804. This was

improved by William Horrocks, a manufacturer of Stockport, in Lancashire. Mr. Lowell, when in England, had obtained drawings of Horrocks' machine, and from them a dressing machine was constructed by Mr. Moody. This machine he improved by adding a stop-motion to the beams or rollers. The rollers, also, he made of soapstone, which proved to be very effective, obviating wholly the objections which had been found to exist against wood or iron for the purpose. The suggestion of this use of soapstone was accidental. Mr. Moody was conversing with his brother concerning the difficulty of making the iron castings for the rollers sufficiently perfect, and remarked that he had thought of making the mould of soapstone. His brother, misapprehending his meaning, replied, "Well, I should think soapstone would make a very good roller." Mr. Moody made no reply, but took the hint and made his rollers of soapstone, which perfectly answered the purpose. These improvements were covered by the patent of January 17, 1818.

Mr. Moody also devised the method of spinning the yarn for filling directly on the bobbin for the shuttle. The yarn for filling had previously been spun on a spinning-frame and then wound on a different bobbin to fit it for the shuttle. A winding-machine, invented by Ebenezer Stowell, then of Middlebury, Vt., but previously of Worcester, Mass., and patented February 28, 1815, had been in use at Waltham for this purpose. Silas Shepard, of Taunton, Mass., had patented a machine for the same purpose which Mr. Moody thought might be preferable, and in company with Mr. Lowell he went to Taunton to examine it. They wished to secure the right to use the machine on a large scale, and on that account to obtain a reduction from the price named. Mr. Shepard refused to make any abatement, saying,

"You know you must have them, Mr. Moody." The latter replied, "I was just thinking that I could spin the cops direct upon the bobbin." "You be hanged!" said Mr. Shepard. "Well, Mr. Lowell, I accept your offer." "No," said Mr. Lowell, "it is too late." The two gentlemen at once started on their return to Waltham, and while on the journey, Mr. Lowell said to Mr. Moody that as he had suggested the idea of spinning the filling on the bobbin, he must carry it out. Mr. Moody had made the remark only by way of chaffering for a bargain, without any serious thoughts on the matter, but now turned his attention to the subject, the result being the filling-frame, which, with some improvements, was patented some years later, on the 19th of February, 1821.

The most important improvement was that of the double-speeder. The original fly-frame introduced from England had no fixed principle for regulating the changing movements necessary in filling a spool. As stated in our sketch of Mr. Lowell, these were the subjects of a complicated mathematical calculation by that gentleman, which Mr. Moody carried into effect in this machine, patents for which were granted April 3, 1819, December 30, 1820, and February 19, 1821. Other patents were granted May 6, 1819, and February 19, 1821, for a spinning-frame, and on January 19, 1821, and February 19, 1821, for a roping-machine.

Another illustration of the mechanical genius of Mr. Moody was his construction of a "governor," on the suggestion of Mr. Lowell, who on the occasion of a visit of Mr. Moody at his house in Boston, said that "they must have a governor, to regulate the speed of the wheels." Mr. Moody had never heard of such an apparatus, and all the information which Mr. Lowell could give him was that, having seen one in England, he remembered there were two iron balls suspended on two

rods, connected at one end like a pair of tongs. When the wheel was in too rapid motion these balls would be driven apart and produce a partial closing of the gate ; when, on the other hand, the motion was too slow, the balls would approach each other and the gate would be opened more widely, letting in a larger volume of water and increasing the speed of the wheel. It was understood, when Mr. Moody left the house of Mr. Lowell, that a "governor" should be ordered from England. On his ride from Boston to Waltham, Mr. Moody could think of nothing but the "governor," and the next morning on going to the machine shop, he chalked out a sketch of his idea as a model for his workmen. Not long afterwards, Mr. Lowell being at Waltham, the inquiry was made whether the "governor" had been ordered from England. Being informed that it had not been ordered, Mr. Moody produced the "governor," which had been made under his direction. It was at once set up in the mill where it did service till 1832. It was the model of those afterwards used in Lowell.

Mr. Moody introduced at Waltham what was known as the dead-spindle, so called from its slow revolutions as compared with those of the live-spindle, introduced from England by Samuel Slater. Both of these spindles continued in use for many years, the dead-spindle at Waltham, Lowell and in mills modelled after the establishments in those places ; the live-spindle in Rhode Island. The process of spinning in which they were used, known as the throstle-spinning—the sound of the spindle resembling the note of the bird of that name—was finally superseded by the ring-traveller, invented by John Thorp, of Providence, and patented by him November 20, 1828. It was at first made so inaccurately as to be inoperative, but was improved and perfected by William Mason, of Taunton, and soon came into general use.

Mr. Moody was actively interested with Messrs. Appleton, Jackson and Boott, in the inauguration of the enterprise at East Chelmsford, afterwards Lowell, Mass. The machinery for the first two mills was built at the shop of the Boston Manufacturing Company under his direction, and was set up in the summer and early fall of 1823, the first double-speeder being started October 9, 1823. It was at once manifest that the immense water-power at East Chelmsford would soon be applied to running other mills, and that the machinery could be built there to better advantage. It was therefore decided to establish a machine shop there on a large scale, and to secure the services of Mr. Moody in planning, building, and superintending it. In August, 1823, the Merrimack Manufacturing Company having decided to build another mill, a contract was made with the Boston Manufacturing Company to release Mr. Moody from his engagement with it, and to allow the use of its patterns and patent rights by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company. The sum of \$75,000 was paid as the consideration. Mr. Moody at once removed to East Chelmsford and started the machine shop there in 1824. From that time till his death most of the machinery for all the mills in Lowell was built and set up under his supervision.

On the 18th of June, 1824, Ezra Worthen, Mr. Moody's early partner and friend, who had been from the beginning the superintendent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, died, and Mr. Moody, in addition to the charge of the machine shop, served as superintendent of the mills until August, 1824, when he resigned that department of his work, being succeeded by Warren Colburn, and devoted himself exclusively to the business of the machine shop until his death, which occurred, after an illness of three days, July 7, 1831.

The part which he sustained in the origin and early development of Lowell greatly enlisted his interests in the welfare and prosperity of the community, and he gave the strength of his judgment and the weight of his influence to whatever might contribute to its beauty by the best use of its physical advantages, or might conduce to its healthfulness, or might secure an elevated moral tone of sentiment and conduct. He was especially efficient in promoting the cause of temperance. At that period most mechanics were addicted to the daily use of ardent spirits, many of them to excess. He early introduced into his shop the reform, which then had secured the co-operation of comparatively few persons of prominence either in professional, mercantile, or mechanical pursuits. His measures were quietly but effectively taken, and sustained by his own example were successful. In reference to his influence, both at Waltham and at Lowell, no one would demur to the statement of Edward Everett, that "to the efforts of his self-taught mind the early prosperity of the great manufacturing establishments in Waltham and Lowell was in no small degree owing."

Belonging, as was stated at the beginning of this sketch, to a family a large number of whose members had received a liberal culture, he was a warm friend of education and favored the most liberal public expenditures for this purpose. An Episcopalian in sentiment and church membership, he gave to the cause of religion the influence of his personal example, his careful observance of the Sabbath, his regular attendance at church, and his liberal contributions for its current and occasional expenses. Habitually cheerful, strong in his attachments, faithful in friendship, tender in his conjugal and paternal relations, he was greatly respected and beloved by all. His age, at the date of his death, was

fifty-two years. Like his early co-worker, Lowell, and his later, Boott, he was removed from his work on earth in the very meridian of his years and of his usefulness.

In the funeral sermon, delivered July 10, 1831, by Rev. Theodore Edson, Rector of St. Anne's Church, it was said that "his death produced a greater sensation than any other single event that has transpired in this town. He died in his full strength of body, in the very vigor of age and constitution. But the last Sunday he was here in his accustomed place, and perhaps not a person in the whole congregation could have been selected with a fairer prospect of long life and vigorous health than he. He died in the midst of prosperity. The sun of life sweetly smiled around him. He seemed blessed with all the means of enjoyment this life can afford: successful in all his pursuits, gratified in all his benevolent wishes, and sensible to all the advantages of his condition. He died in the full strength of mind. He was a man of extraordinary intellect. He was one of those who identified himself with the rise, growth, and prosperity of this flourishing village. He was one of the two who first set foot upon the soil with the slightest idea of what it might become. From the earliest active measures, he has sustained a conspicuous part of this enterprise; and it should be remembered, the place which he has held in this concern he has sustained by the uncommon strength and acuteness of his practical talents. He was kind to the poor. He was not wont to turn away from actual suffering without an effort to relieve it. No person more fully appreciated the superiority of that charity which provides for the destitute by encouraging their own laudable exertions and industry. What he was as a friend, a brother, a father, a husband, has been involuntarily attested to by the deep, unaffected and irrepressible emotion which this truly mournful event has

occasioned. The habitual cheerfulness of his disposition, the stability of his friendship, the fidelity and constancy of his attachment, the affectionate tenderness of his paternal character are known—are written on the heart.”

At a meeting of the directors of the Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River, held July 22, 1831, it was voted that the following notice of the death of Mr. Moody be entered upon the records:

“The directors, deeply impressed with a sense of the severe loss the Corporation have sustained in the death of their agent, Mr. Moody, who expired, in the midst of his labors, on the 7th inst., after an illness of short duration, feel desirous to enter upon their records, as a feeble tribute to his worth, this expression of their high admiration of his skill as a mechanic as well as their unbounded regard for his character as a man. To extreme fidelity and uprightness Mr. Moody added an untiring zeal in the execution of his trust. Diligent and unsparing of his own labor, he exacted and secured the same assiduity from others. Prompt to acknowledge every instance of merit in those whom he employed, he never had the weakness to indulge a favorite. Quick to discern their failings, he possessed too much command over himself to be violent or hasty in reproof, so that in the scene of his activity his memory is cherished with affection and respect, and furnishes to those who survive him an invaluable model for imitation. To mechanical talents of the very first order he united prudence and foresight in so eminent a degree that his judgment in machinery was almost unerring; hence the use of few of his inventions has been superseded by more modern discoveries, and they were so numerous and important that to no one are we more indebted for the advanced and successful state of the cotton manufacture among us.”

IX. The President's Addresses.

[By a vote of the Association passed May 9, 1883, the several Addresses of the President were ordered to be printed in the "Contributions" of the Association. To avoid repetition the Secretary, with the approval of the President, has selected such portions of the Addresses as have a general interest to the public, and is now enabled to put them in the possession of the members in a form suitable for preservation.]

MAY 8, 1873.

GENTLEMEN — With this meeting we complete the fourth year since the organization of the Association, and I invite your attention for a few moments to a short review of the facts and incidents connected with the past year.

In these four years we have accumulated a very considerable amount of valuable local historical information which rests securely in the keeping of the Secretary. Allow me here to say that some of these papers are of very general interest, and I can conceive of no more likely way to awaken attention to our aims and efforts than the publication, in some respectable form, of a judicious selection from these papers and a generous gratuitous distribution of these publications at home and abroad.

Our quarterly meetings of the year have been well attended by its members, on one occasion more than seventy being present; but the public, although always welcome and repeatedly invited, have evinced but little interest, while the press has always lent their encouragement to our efforts to collect and detain the fleeting facts of the early history of our city.

I have been gratified to notice that some other cities and towns have already or are about to organize similar associations.

MAY 9, 1874.

GENTLEMEN—We enter this day on the fifth year of our Association. The people of Lowell, as those of all other places, are in possession of a certain body of memories and traditions not current elsewhere, exceedingly fleeting and transitory as they always are. Like the beautiful autumn leaves, unless seized and gathered and preserved by the hand of taste and feeling, how soon do they crumble and sink into the soil from which they came, and leave no trace behind! But they may by skilful art be woven into forms of beauty and long give pleasure and profit to the beholder. So must we gather and embalm all that seems valuable in this heritage of memories and traditions, and thus arrest the oblivion which otherwise threatens so soon to overshadow them. This is the humble function of this local association; and whatever has been, or may be our success, we are but joining in a good work which is going on all around us with like objects, in state and county, and city and town organizations.

The most noticeable event of the last year with us has been the publication of the first number of our "Contributions"—a pamphlet of over seventy pages.

It is interesting to know how this was received by those at a distance from us. The president of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, writes :

“I thank you for the pleasant historical contributions of Lowell. Your address sets them on the right track, and I hope you will keep them active, so that the fragments may be gathered and saved while they are fresh. For myself I think I have been able to accomplish more in calling out the activity of others than in attempting a great share of the work myself.”

The secretary of the same institution says :

“I read it with great interest, and shall place it in the library.”

An ex-mayor of Cambridge says :

“I thank you for your interesting pamphlet. I have felt the more interest in it as the beginning of a series of publications which may be hereafter of the greatest value in elucidating the origin and progress of the manufacturing industry of the country, which in connection with our railroads and inexhaustible mineral resources is doing so much to make us the greatest nation on the face of the earth.”

Another writes that :

“I have read all with great interest. Everything of that kind has an ever-increasing value, and the Association have provided a fund of satisfaction for all coming time.”

Perhaps the Association could in no other way be more benefited than by a wider distribution of this pamphlet — both pecuniarily and otherwise.

MAY 15, 1875.

GENTLEMEN — We close to-night the sixth year of our Association.

In the progress of the year now closing, your increasing interest and attention have been manifested in full numbers at your quarterly meetings, in one instance with ladies, in a large and enthusiastic gathering at the

hospitable home of one of its respected officers, and of more than one hundred members at the funeral of another.

Nor has the other object of the Society — the gathering and preserving the ever fleeting facts of our local history as a town and city — been overlooked. Several valuable papers have been read and placed in our files.

In these few facts we have gratifying evidence of the healthful condition of our Association and of the continued interest of the public in our work.

The efforts of various historical and statistical societies around us have awakened general attention to similar researches, particularly in this time of centennials. And yet how few keep any note of passing events, any record of themselves, their ancestors and the incidents of the times in which they live! We rejoice in what our Society has done and is still doing, but more and still greater work is to be performed, and we have constant admonitions that our time is short.

Our gathering here to-night, at the commencement of another year is to greet each other with the accustomed friendly recognition, and thankful for the mercies vouchsafed to us, and grateful for what of success has crowned our labors of the past year, to renew our endeavors in the discharge of the duties and trusts of the Association.

MAY 3, 1876.

GENTLEMEN — The position which by your favor I hold, and the practice of similar associations rather than any positive requirement of yours, would seem to warrant the expectation that at our annual meetings some

short review of the events of the past year should be laid before you. We close to-day our seventh year.

The quarterly meetings have been regularly held and largely attended. The public have always been welcomed and the invitation to ladies has been accepted by them, their presence adding much to the interest of the occasion.

But the crowning event of the year has been the semi-centennial celebration. At our meeting last November, the approach of the event was announced and a resolution introduced, passed and sent to the City Council, expressing our earnest wish for a suitable observance of the day. It met with a gratifying reception, and a joint committee of the Council and the Association addressed themselves with extraordinary zeal, judgment and perseverance to perfecting arrangements in great detail for the day. Few persons are aware of the importance and labor of such undertakings. While all classes of the community seemed aroused, the "Old Residents" evidently regarded it as their last opportunity. The sight of hundreds of their gray heads, as viewed from the galleries of the hall, is described as singularly impressive. Our large and beautiful hall was densely packed, and hundreds were unable to gain admission.

We were singularly fortunate in our graceful and dignified president of the day, in the appropriate and exhilarating character of our choral music, in the almost world-wide fame of the semi-centennial orator, in our distinguished guests from abroad, and cheered with the happy greetings of former friends who came long journeys to grace our jubilee. The day realized the era of good feelings and left behind it no causes of regret for omissions or mistakes; and the forthcoming history of it

to be published by the city will commemorate to distant ages one of the most successful and happy ceremonies it has ever undertaken. In this connection I may add that eleven different odes and poems were sent to your committee, from which the selection was made.

During the year, by your direction, the second number of our Contributions has been published, making a pamphlet of nearly two hundred pages, and numbers have been judiciously distributed by our efficient secretary, and I have received several acknowledgments from abroad testifying to its worth and the praiseworthy objects of our Society.

A most acceptable donation has been made to the Association by Miss Elizabeth B. Livermore, of files of the Chelmsford Phoenix, Merrimack Journal, and Lowell Journal, for the years 1825, 1826, 1827 and 1828, substantially bound; also, a large octavo volume relating to the Boott family, given by Mr. George M. Elliott.

MAY 11, 1877.

After enumerating a list of the papers read at the meetings of the Association he said:

We have thus done something in gathering fragments of interest and arresting their loss, which otherwise would be speedy and unavoidable. Our humble aim is promoted when almost any fact under a certain and precise date is recorded for the first time. The completion last year of the half century of our city was witnessed by a small number of survivors of that period, who were painfully reminded of neglected opportunities; for, notwithstanding the gratifying success of the celebration several errors of fact and date were recorded, and thus to a certain degree perpetuated. I may be excused, therefore, if on every occasion I urge

upon each member greater diligence in preserving these fleeting materials, to be incorporated into history. All we can accomplish must be by individual effort. The tendency of the times is to organizations and societies in which there is danger too much reliance may be placed; and individual character, and influence and labor in a degree neutralized and undervalued.

MAY 8, 1878.

Our Association was organized December 21, 1868, and the first annual meeting took place May 3, 1869. Thus, while we have claimed for it the age of ten years the present year we are compelled to acknowledge that its age is nine. The record of these nine years proves that we have not been unmindful of the objects of the Association. So successful indeed have been our efforts that its reputation is now recognized from Maine to Georgia by societies similar in character; and its example is being followed by the neighboring cities of Haverhill and Lawrence.

There is one department of the Association that is dependent on the good-will of the individual members; and the secretary trusts that each member will feel it a duty to manifest that good-will by furnishing him with a photograph. He has already ninety-eight pictures in the Association's album. He wants one hundred and fifty-two more. It is one of the pleasant features of the Association thus to preserve the likenesses of its members, and it is very desirable that all should be represented.

MAY 8, 1879.

We are passing, this evening, the eleventh anniversary of this Association, a somewhat novel enterprise

for collecting and preserving the fleeting facts of the early history of our city, one of whose distinctions it is that it has reached the second position in our Commonwealth in population, within the lives of some of us who have been residents from its beginning in 1822.

Although we are most gladly welcoming to our ranks those younger men, of whom this cannot be truly said, yet there is a *peculiar* sympathy between those who began here their life work in poverty and obscurity in Lowell village, as it was called. Nor is it strange that they look back with feelings of almost reverence upon its founders and leaders. I have been deeply impressed with the fact that so many of them died early in life.

Francis C. Lowell died September 2, 1817, aged 43 years.

Ezra Worthen died June 18, 1824, aged 48 years.

Paul Moody died July 5, 1831, aged 54 years.

Warren Colburn died September 13, 1833, aged 40 years.

Joel Lewis died November 10, 1834, aged 34 years.

Kirk Boott died April 11, 1837, aged 47 years.

It is very easy now, and a favorite occupation with our younger men to criticise their plans and point to their mistakes, but a more correct judgment will find surprisingly few instances which do not challenge our admiration and respect.

It seems natural then, that this sympathy should be strongest and most effective among those who have been longest associated together in duty and trial.

It is true, no doubt, that toward the last we live more with the past than the present. We all do so as the shadows lengthen for us in the evening of our life. It is true for all of us who are old the faces most loved are those of our unforgotten dead friends. But he who

has lived worthily has lived not for his own age only, but for all coming generations, for his thoughts live after him, and his example and his influence.

MAY 5, 1880.

A recent writer says it must be gratifying to every lover of his country to witness the growing interest which is taken in the knowledge of its early history and of the manners and customs, the habits and objects, and in a word the character of those who first planted these colonies. The publication of our local or town histories is well calculated to bring to light and perpetuate a knowledge of these facts. In these little municipalities the seeds of our present growth and prosperity were sown; and here those principles of equal rights and self government which have made us a free people were exhibited in practice. It became so obvious that the seeds of our national growth and prosperity were sown in our town meetings that the British Parliament passed a law forbidding our town meetings, except for the choice of town officers and the appropriations for the ordinary town purposes.

This growing interest in all the local histories of our towns has during the past year, culminated in the completion of the history of every town in Middlesex County, in two large and beautiful volumes, one of which has been already delivered; and it is with no little pleasure we see that our own city was undertaken, after much solicitation, by our painstaking Secretary, and has been completed by him with an amount of accurate detail and excellent judgment which can be fully appreciated only by those who have ever entered upon such a labor. The history of Lowell will appear in the second volume, which may be soon expected.

Early in the year, soon after the publication of No. 4 of our Contributions, it was decided to issue our first volume. It makes a book of over four hundred pages. The typography and mechanical work are very creditable to the firm who did it, the senior member of which has been one of our most valued collaborators.

While we rejoice in what has been accomplished by the efforts of industrious and useful members, we are constantly reminded of those who have ceased from their labors and have gone to their reward.

It is a constant gratification to us to look back upon the founders and early settlers of our city. They came to us by *emigration* from other communities and with unexampled rapidity, and this is the reason that the oldest members have been *most* interested in the objects of our Association. Many of our towns, independent of their individual character, acquired more extended fame from their share in the perils and sufferings of Indian warfare and the Revolution, which gave energy and stability to heroic virtues. We can make small claim to the stalwart characters, the high-toned morality, the unflinching integrity, based upon the religious element of the early settlers of our country, except as coming to us from the best country towns around us.

These transmitted characteristics may have been modified, but not lost. They still constitute the guiding and controlling element in the characters of our early men. They had no faith in managing their high trusts without the *school* and the *church*. To untold generations their influence is certain to be felt. *Our* fame must rest upon our enormous manufacturing corporations, but above all upon the skill and unexceptional honesty and trustworthiness of their management, which has already been their stability for fifty years.

MAY 6, 1881.

We call to mind the varied emotion of sadness, chastened by the memories of broken friendships, of mutual labors, cares and responsibilities now ended and soon to be forgotten, the departure of respected members.

The quarterly meetings have been held with a gratifying attendance, somewhat remarkable when we know that such is the activity, enterprise and ability of the daily press that full reports of all our doings in the evening are spread before us in print before breakfast the next morning. The temptation to avoid the discomfort and exposure of a stormy night and depend upon the morning paper is not small, and greatly increases as years increase.

MAY 3, 1882.

The aims of our Association are so simple, its operations so unostentatious, and its sympathies naturally so much closer to the older, or even the oldest of our associates that the return of our anniversary calls for simple facts.

On January 1, 1882, was published No. 2, Vol. II., of our Contributions. No previous number has evoked more grateful appreciation and acknowledgments from abroad; the remarkable rise and rapid growth of our city perhaps attract to us unusual curiosity and render our annals more interesting to our neighbors. Nor need we wonder at the indifference of the younger part of our community, with the exception, perhaps, of a few who have a taste for antiquarian pursuits, and even to these the history of our sixty years as a city is but a fraction of the two hundred and fifty years of our

country, and a very small fraction of the 'centuries long past.

Contrasted with the older cities of our Commonwealth, who fails to see in our straight and wide streets and broad sidewalks the wise liberality and sagacity of the founders of our city? While every year adds to the marvellous extension of our limits, the value of the steady and wise policy of the administration of our great corporations, and the desirableness of a conservative and order-loving tenure of our city government.

The printer's art is after all the great conservator and transmitter of history. The Endicott stone of granite and its deep-cut inscription, at the end of 260 years was in great danger of total decay and obliteration, but in the printer's page in the New Hampshire annals, in multiplied and wide-scattered volumes, its memory was safe. By this art we have with some success preserved the memory of some of our leading men. There yet remain many equally worthy whom we have hitherto failed to notice, notably among them the names of Moody and Worthen. Nor should we overlook or under-estimate the social element in our organization, engendered by sympathy of individual labors, privations and self-sacrifices when we were few and all on one level, with similar aims and ambitions.

As year by year in increasing numbers one and another is called from earthly labors, we are forcibly reminded that the destiny of the Association must soon pass into other, we doubt not abler hands.

MAY 9, 1883.

To the Old Residents' Association the revolution of even a single year comes fraught with especial signifi-

cance. Its events, to our survivors, of themselves compel willing attention and require few words to recall their memories. This report, to others rather than to its own members, may serve to keep before them the aims and objects of our efforts and we would hope to secure their co-operation and regard. We would cordially welcome to its membership all interested in similar pursuits in our own community, where we have done something but have merely gleaned where much remains to be reaped. Around us, in other places, abundant evidence is to be seen of such interest, not only in the increasing number of our local histories but in their improved character. The beautiful volumes, just published, of our neighboring town of Billerica, whose territory originally included a part of our own, with its numerous and beautiful illustrations and copious facts and dates, is an honor to the public spirit of the town and to its faithful, painstaking and eminent historian, Rev. Henry A. Hazen, A. M.

In November last the executive committee, acting under the authority of the recent change in our constitution, elected as corresponding members several gentlemen who had all been former residents, for a longer or shorter time, but long absent in distant fields of usefulness and honor. Their responses were prompt and full of grateful appreciation of our humble labors, showing how acceptable to them was the consciousness that their memories and services are still objects of regard, even after the elapse, in some cases, of forty years. Responses were received from Rev. Henry A. Miles, D. D., Hingham; Rev. Thomas M. Clark, D. D., Providence; Rev. Lewis Green, Ashfield; Rev. Elias Nason, Billerica; Rev. D. C. Eddy, D. D., Boston; Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D., Boston; Rev. Thomas B. Thayer, D. D., Salem; Rev. Nicholas

Hoppin, D. D., Cambridge ; Rev. Geo. Leeds, D. D., Baltimore ; Rev. E. L. Magoon, D. D., Philadelphia ; James Payne, Esq., Lawrence ; A. B. Wright, Esq., Boston.

In January last was published and distributed No. 3, Vol. II., of our Contributions. In the variety of its articles, in the interesting biographical sketches of two of our earliest and best known citizens, brief indeed from the scantiness of the materials, so long neglected but now happily preserved and expressed ; the History of the Drama in Lowell, so long ago as to almost have passed from memory, but above all the exhaustive article on the newspaper press in Lowell by our indefatigable Secretary, so carefully and thoughtfully filled with its numerous facts and dates, involving an amount of time and labor very few can appreciate. This last may be truly said to be our best.

My attention, and doubtless that of other old residents, has been attracted to a series of papers in the Lowell Courier, entitled "Reminiscences of Early Physicians of Lowell and Vicinity." They are written by a young physician, a native and resident here, who has a taste for such work, and with great pains and good judgment has collected and published in one of our leading secular papers the materials scattered through our medical and other journals, and from the memories of surviving friends, thus reviving agreeable and long-cherished associations.

The Newburyport Herald, in inviting some one to undertake a similar work for its own city, uses the following language :

"There is no class more highly honored than the physician. People stand up for the family doctor as they do for their own clergyman, and there is much more personal preference.

"But there is one great drawback to the profession. As soon as the doctor is dead he is forgotten by all except those who have

known him personally. His benevolent deeds are exceedingly comforting at the time, but they are not such as to make a display. He works in secret but the reward does not come openly in this world. The profession has had as able and as good men, and those who in their own day were as highly honored as other professions, but a doctor's fame dies with him, unless he has written some work which passes beyond the value of a text-book, and is an authority with the people as with the profession. It would be an honor to the medical fraternity in Newburyport if they would publish a memorial of their members from the first to the present time."

If this series is carried out as it is begun we shall have set an example to the other professions, of which the legal is especially deficient, worthy of imitation; and what a welcome would await an appreciative notice of the legal talent of the early age of our city as embodied in the lives of John R. Adams, Francis Brinley, S. B. Walcott, Thomas Hopkinson, Elisha Fuller, Luther Lawrence, John P. Robinson, William T. Heydock, Joseph Locke, Seth Ames, Elisha Glidden, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel F. Haven, Edward St. Loe Livermore, Tappan Wentworth, John L. Sheafe, Samuel Mann, etc.

In closing I may be permitted to record the satisfaction we have in knowing that scholarly men are interesting themselves in both our City Library and the Mechanics' Library, in aiding in improving their local materials, and learning, like ourselves, to honor the founders of our city.

MAY 9, 1884.

To those who are accustomed to read each annual report of this and similar associations there is little to be said in reference to our routine work, except to remind them that the benefits derived from the Association are, first its social features, and next the advantage of having

an organization ready and equipped at all times for work.

In November last the second volume of our Contributions was completed, and makes a book of 461 pages, every way creditable to the accuracy and care of our watchful Secretary. The preparation for No. 1, Vol. III., is already well advanced.

Besides the smaller gifts sent in exchange, we have received and gratefully acknowledge :

Records of Massachusetts Volunteers. 2 vols. Mrs. T. Wentworth.

Memorial of Zachariah Allen, 1795-1882. Rhode Island Historical Society.

Ross Memorial. Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes Barre, Pa.

\$540 in Confederate Bills. Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, Tenn.

Memoir of Hon. John M. Clayton. Delaware Historical Society, Wilmington, Del.

Sketch of Enoch Long, vol. 2. Collections of Chicago (Ill.) Historical Society. 134 pages.

The Edwards Papers, vol. 3. Collections of Chicago (Ill.) Historical Society. 633 pages.

In Memoriam, Rev. Theodore Edson, s. t. d. Wardens and Vestry of St. Anne's Church.

Report of the Medical Staff of St. John's Hospital.

Manual of Kirk Street Church. S. L. Ward.

Charter and Ordinances of the City of Lowell. J. F. Page.

The Puritan Conspiracy against the Pilgrim Fathers and the Congregational Church, 1624. Hon. John A. Goodwin.

The increase in number and the improvement in character of our town histories, is very great. "We think we can see," says President Wilder, "that there has been an influence reflected from these shores on the Old World."

A late Scottish newspaper, the North British Mail of Glasgow, refers to the development of local history in Great Britain, as follows: "We have had occasion of late to call attention to the fact, both in Scotland and England, that the people are beginning to realize that national history is made up of local history." The same paper remarks: "In the department of family history the Yankees excel us, especially in the external splendor with which many of their books are got up."

Here ends our annual review, and we enter upon the new year, less cheered by our past success than stimulated to future exertions by the conviction of the importance and value of similar researches, to be duly weighed in some distant future, when we shall be no longer cognizant of criticism or neglect.

X. *Rev. John Eliot (Apostle to the Indians),
Passaconaway, Wannalancet and Captain
Samuel Mosely, by Alfred Gilman.*

JOHN ELIOT.

REV. JOHN ELIOT was born at Nasing, Essex County, England, in 1604. Little is known of his ancestry; his parents gave him a liberal education, and were exemplary for their piety. He writes, "I do see that it was a great favor of God to me that my first years were seasoned with the fear of God, the word and prayer." He was educated at the University of Cambridge, England, and afterward became usher to Hooker, in his grammar school at Little Baddow, near Chelmsford, Essex County. He thus became acquainted in his early years with Thomas Hooker, known as the Minister of Hartford, and father of the Connecticut churches, who was instrumental in leading him to a knowledge of the doctrines and duties of religion. He arrived at Boston in 1631, and must have been held in high esteem, as Governor Winthrop says: "Mr. John Eliot, a member of Boston Congregation, whom the company intend presently to call to the office of teacher, was called to be a teacher to the company at Roxbury; and though Boston labored all they could, both with the congregation at Roxbury and with Mr. Eliot himself, alleging their want of him, and the covenant between them, yet he would not be diverted from accepting the call at Roxbury; so he was dismissed."

He came over in the ship *Lyon*, and arrived in November, 1631, in company with the Governor's lady and sixty other persons.* These latter settled in Roxbury and had made an engagement with Mr. Eliot to settle with them. He united with the church at Roxbury as their teacher. Mr. Welde was called next year to be their pastor. One attended to *exhortation* and the other to *doctrine*; or, in the language of the time, one administered the word of wisdom, and the other the word of knowledge.

He was followed very soon after he came, by the young lady to whom he had been betrothed in England, and on her arrival they were married. Six children were the fruit of this marriage, five sons and one daughter. The daughter and one of the sons survived the parents. Three of the sons died young. One of the sons was the first minister of Newton, and became so much interested in his father's work that he acquired a knowledge of the Indian language.

In 1640 Eliot, in company with Welde and Richard Mather, was intrusted with the preparation of the "Old Bay Psalm Book." This was the *first book* printed in North America.

In 1646 he engaged in the work of Christianizing and civilizing the Indians. Sometime in 1647, or perhaps in the preceding year, Mr. Eliot in company with Captain Willard, of Concord, and others, traveled so far as the Merrimack. Eliot was accompanied by some Christian Indians from his own neighborhood. These were of much service on the present occasion, by praying in the wigwams and conversing with the Indians. Passaconaway, the chief, would not see them, and fled with his sons, although many of his men remained.

* Convers Francis says the Roxbury people came the next year.

In the spring of 1648 Mr. Eliot again visited Pawtucket. At that season of the year there was annually a great collection of Indians at this spot, a famous fishing place, and they furnished him with large audiences—Indians that came from various quarters. On this occasion Passaconaway did not, as before, flee on the apostle's approach. He was willing to stay and listen. Eliot preached from Malachi i. 2, giving it the following version: "From the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, Thy name shall be great among the Indians, and in every place prayer shall be made to Thy name, pure prayer, for Thy name shall be great among the Indians." At this time Passaconaway expressed his determination to pray to God for the future and to persuade his sons to follow his example. Two of them were present, who assented to their father's purpose. In evidence of the lasting nature of this determination he expressed afterward a wish that the apostle would fix his abode in that neighborhood.

In 1651 Eliot founded the Indian town of Natick. He framed laws for the inhabitants which were an exact copy of those of the Pentateuch.

In 1653 he presented a petition to the Legislature, asking for a grant of land lying about Pawtucket and Wamesit falls, to be appropriated to the sole and exclusive use of the tribe inhabiting thereabout, where they had erected wigwams and broken up the land for planting.

The first English settlement made on the Indian plantation was on the borders of Concord River, a plot of ground much resembling a heater, which gave rise to the name of Concord River Neck. This was in 1655.

Gookin says: "Wamesit is the fifth praying town, and is situated upon Merrimack River, being a neck of

land where Concord River falleth into the Merrimack River. It is about twenty miles from Boston, N. N. W., and within five miles of Billerica and as much from Chelmsford, so that it hath Concord River upon the W. N. W. and the Merrimack upon the N. N. E. It hath about fifteen families, and consequently seventy-five souls. The quantity of land belonging to it is about 2500 acres. The land is fertile and yieldeth plenty of corn.

“At this place once a year,* at the beginning of May, the English magistrate keeps his court, accompanied with Mr. Eliot, the minister, who at this time takes the opportunity to preach, not only to the inhabitants, but to as many of the strange Indians that can be persuaded to hear him, of which sort, usually in times of peace, there are considerable numbers at that season. And this place being an ancient and capital seat of Indians, they come to fish; and this good man takes this opportunity to spread the net of the gospel to fish for their souls.”

In 1674 Major Gookin writes, “We meet at the wigwam of one called Wannalancet, about two miles from the town, near Pawtucket Falls, and bordering upon the Merrimack River. This person, Wannalancet, is the eldest (?) son of Passaconaway, the chiefest Sachem of Pawtucket.

“He was a sober, grave person, between fifty and sixty years of age” when Mr. Eliot and Mr. G. visited him in 1674. “He was always loving and friendly to the English, but was unwilling to receive Christianity.” “Many endeavors were made for several years to gain this sachem to embrace Christianity. The fear of desertion by his kindred restrained him.” After the sermon

* This would seem to determine the question — “Did Eliot establish a church here?”

on the occasion of the visit in 1674 Mr. Eliot "proposed to him to give his answer concerning praying to God." He stood up, and after some deliberation and a serious pause, spoke as follows:

"Sirs, you have been pleased for years past in your abundant love to apply yourselves particularly unto me and my people, to exhort, press and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankful to you for your pains. I must acknowledge I have all my days been used to pass in an old canoe, and now you exhort me to change, and leave my old canoe and embark in a new one, to which I have been hitherto unwilling; but I now yield up myself unto your advice and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter."

Mr. Gookin continues: "Since that time I hear this sachem doth persevere, and is a diligent and constant hearer of God's word, and sanctifieth the Sabbath, though he doth travel to Wamesit meeting every Sabbath, which is about four miles, and though sundry of his people have deserted him."

The "Great Neck" included the whole Indian plantation lying northeast of Chelmsford, and between Concord and Merrimack Rivers.

The northwest bounds of the "Wamesit purchase" began near the head of the Middlesex Canal and south to the glass manufactory, and thence running to a point on Concord River at the mouth of River Meadow Brook (now called Hale's Brook), comprising all the land between the brook and Concord River. This was purchased by Jonathan Tyng, Esq., and Maj. Thomas Henchman, of the Indians, in 1686. Jonathan Tyng sold his right in these lands to Major Henchman for £50, reserving one right. Henchman sold to 46 persons, including himself and Tyng, who were called the proprietors. In addition to this they purchased 500 acres of land, bounded

on the east by Beaver Brook and on the south by Merrimack River near Pawtucket Falls. This same land was sold by the Indians to Wheelwright, in 1629, but the Indians retained possession.

Having conceived the idea of converting the Indians, Mr. Eliot commenced the study of the language, a work that would have discouraged any one having less determination and enthusiasm. A modern linguist would have hesitated some time before he would have tried to master a language in which the words "our lusts" are expressed by a word of thirty-two letters — "Nummathekodtantamoonganunnonash." This is entirely left in the shade by "our question" — "Kumnogkodonatoottummoosstiteaongannunonash," a word of forty-three letters. Notwithstanding this almost insuperable difficulty, what can we say of the man who actually translated the English version of the Old and New Testaments into the Indian language? All that can be said has been well said by the Hon. Edward Everett:

"Since the death of the Apostle Paul, a nobler, truer and warmer spirit than John Eliot never lived, and taking the state of the country, the narrowness of the means, the rudeness of the age, into consideration, the history of the Christian church does not contain an example of resolute, untiring, successful labor superior to that of translating the entire Scriptures into the language of the native tribes of Massachusetts, a labor performed not in the flush of youth, nor within the luxurious abodes of academic ease, but under the constant burden of his duties as a minister and a preacher, and at a time of life when the spirits begin to flag."

Mr. Eliot was remarkable for mildness, meekness and generosity. His wife was noted for her busy usefulness, carefulness and prudence, and possessed in a remarkable

degree those very qualities that made her a helpmeet to him. She once amused herself by pointing to several of his cows that stood before the door, and asking him whose they were. She found that the good man knew nothing about them.

Another peculiarity was his unselfishness. When the parish treasurer was once about to pay him his salary or a portion of it, knowing his habitual propensity, he put it into a handkerchief which he tied into several hard knots in order to prevent Mr. Eliot from giving it away before he reached home. After leaving the treasurer, the benevolent man called at the house of a family who were poor and sick. He blessed them and told them God had sent relief by him. His kind words brought tears of gratitude to their eyes. He immediately tried to untie his handkerchief, but the knots had been so effectually made that he could not get at his money. After several fruitless efforts to loose the handkerchief, he gave the whole to the mother of the family, saying: "Here, my dear, take it; I believe the Lord designs it all for you." This anecdote is related almost word for word of the Rev. Samuel Moody.

His wife died three years before her husband, on the 24th of March, 1687, in the 84th year of her age. Standing beside her coffin he said, "Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful wife; I shall go to her, but she shall not return to me."

He died May 20, 1690, aged 86 years. Cotton Mather tells us that the anagram of Eliot's name is *Toile*. This expressed concisely his life.

The general character of the Pawtuckets was not warlike. When the Mohawks made war on the Massachusetts and Pawtuckets it carried terror to their hearts, and forced them from their fishing-places, corn-fields

and habitations. The slightest occurrence was enough to kindle the passions of the English into outrage. A barn in Chelmsford, full of hay and grain, was burnt to the ground in 1675. This was afterwards discovered to have been done by some skulking Indians of the enemy's party.* But the inhabitants of the place at once imputed the crime to the Christian Indians of Wamesit, and in the heat of resentment, without further inquiry, determined on revenge. Fourteen men from Chelmsford went with arms to their wigwams and called to them to come out. When they — suspecting no harm — appeared, two of the men fired upon them. One lad was killed, and five women† and children were wounded. The murderers, Lorgin and Robbins, were soon arrested and brought to trial, but were acquitted by a jury acting under the influence of the popular exasperation. The Wamesit Indians were so frightened by this brutal assault that most of them fled from the settlement far into the forest, and remained there a long time, exposed to cold and hunger. Although attempts were made to induce them to return, they refused; but they sent a letter addressed to Lieut. Henchman, of Chelmsford, in which they said, "We are not sorry for what we leave behind, but we are sorry that the English have driven us from our praying to God, and from our teacher. We did begin to understand a little of praying to God." At length winter and hunger drove them back to their wigwams. When their return was made known at Boston,

*The Maquas, and strange Indians from the southward were the fomentors and perpetrators of most of the mischief that was done at this time. They burnt several houses in Draeut, Chelmsford, Shawshine and Andover; killed a son of George Abbott, of Andover, and carried away another captive. Roger Marks was wounded and his horse killed. Two sons of Samuel Varnum were shot as they were rowing a boat across Merrimack River.

†One was a widow; her name was Sarah, a woman of good report in religion. She was a daughter to a Sagamore, named Sagamore John, who was a great friend to the English.

a committee consisting of Mr. Eliot and Maj. Willard was appointed to visit them with a message of friendship and encouragement, and to persuade the people of Chelmsford into a better temper toward them. The committee discharged their duty promptly, doing their utmost to restore quiet and amity.

It is said that the "Indians at Wamesit were never very hearty in the cause of Christianity." This remark is partially confirmed by the fact that a church was never established here.

The Indian history connected with Lowell is replete with interest. The philanthropist sees in the civilization of the Indians at that early day when the colonies were weak, with enemies on every hand, the evidence of divine protection. He looks upon Eliot as something more than a religious enthusiast, and believes that he possessed the forecast of true statesmanship, in his efforts to turn what otherwise might have proved a scourge into a source of strength and protection. There are others who can see no good result in all Eliot's efforts, from the fact that when King Philip's war came, civilization and Christianity, as far as the Indians were concerned, disappeared from the land. Judged by the results—the neutrality of the local tribes, their refusal to join with other tribes in their wars against the English, and their readiness to give intelligence to the settlers of impending danger—we cannot but feel proud, and at the same time thankful, that there was such a patriot, enthusiast, or whatever he may be called, as the Rev. John Eliot.

PASSACONAWAY.

Passaconaway lived at Pennacook, now Concord, N. H. His dominions extended from the Merrimack

to the Piscataqua. He was the most noted powow and sorcerer of all the country, and his fame was wide-spread. It was thought he could cause a green leaf to grow in winter, trees to dance and water to burn. He is mentioned by Hutchinson as early as 1632. In 1642 great alarm spread throughout the English settlements, and the government sent men to take Passaconaway and his guns, bows, etc., which was done. He came willingly. After a night's imprisonment he was dismissed, as they could find against him no ground of suspicion. In the same year, says another account of this transaction, a warrant was sent to Ipswich, Rowley and Newbury, to disarm Passaconaway, who lived by the Merrimack; forty armed men went forth Sunday. These were hindered from visiting the wigwam of Passaconaway by rainy weather, "but they came to his son's and took him." This son, it is probable, was Wannalancet. This they had orders to do, but for taking a squaw and her child, they had none, and were ordered to send them back immediately. Wannalancet escaped, although they fired at him. In this statement I follow the history of the period. My own supposition is that the son of Passaconaway who was captured was Nanamocomuck, the elder son of that chief. It was the ill treatment he received at that time and at a subsequent period when deprived of his liberty by Major Waldron, at Dover, that instilled the hatred toward the English in the breast of Kankamagus which culminated in the destruction of the settlement at Dover. Wannalancet never manifested any bitterness toward the English, but on the other hand uniformly treated them when in his power with kindness. Kankamagus, according to Drake, in a communication to the English, calls Passaconaway his great grandfather, but I think the word *great* is used to characterize his

distinction. Mr. Allen, in his account of the Wamesit Indians, has the name of John Hodgkins or John Hawkins signed to the letter of Kankamagus. It would appear that these names belonged to one and the same person.

Fearing Passaconaway would resent this outrage they sent Catshamekin* to him to let him know that what was done to his son and squaw was done without order, and to invite him to a parley in Boston. Passaconaway said when he should have his son and squaw returned safe he would go and speak with them. They were soon liberated. In 1644, it is said, he came in with his son and submitted, together with all his lands and people, to the government. In 1662 we find the General Court acting upon a petition sent in by him. The Court say: "In answer to the petition of Papisseconeway, judgeth meete to graunt to the said Papisseconeway and his men or associates about Naticot (a brook in Litchfield) above Mr. Brenton's lands, where it is free, a mile and a half on either side Merremack River, in breadth, three miles on either side in length; provided neither he nor they do not alienate any part of this grant without leave and license from this court first obtained."

Gookin says, in his history of the praying Indians, supposed to have been written in 1674, "I saw him alive at Pawtucket when he was about one hundred and twenty years old." This must have been as early as 1662. His son Wannalancet was 55 years of age in 1674. Supposing his father to have been thirty years old at his birth (1619) that would give the age of Passaconaway in 1674, when Gookin wrote, as 85. Drake says "he is supposed to have died about the same time with Massasoit," which occurred in 1661-'62, twelve years before Gookin wrote.

* A sachem of the praying Indians belonging to Dorchester.

Before his death he delivered this speech to his children and friends.* “I am now going the way of all flesh, or ready to die, and not likely to see you ever meet together any more. I will now leave this word of counsel with you, that you may take heed how you quarrel with the English, for though you may do them much mischief, yet assuredly you will all be destroyed and rooted off the earth if you do; for I was as much an enemy to the English at their first coming into these parts as any one whatsoever, and did try all ways and means possible to have destroyed them, at least to have prevented them settling down here, but I could no way effect it; heretofore I advise you never to contend with the English nor make war with them.”

WANNALANCET.

Wannalancet was born probably in 1619. We learn of him as early as 1647, when Passaconaway “fled with his sons.” In 1648 he assented to his father’s purpose “to pray to God.” Drake says, “in 1659 he was thrown into prison for a debt of £45.” His people, who owned an island in the Merrimack River, three miles above Pawtucket Falls, containing sixty acres, half of which was under cultivation, relinquished it to obtain his release. The General Court made a grant of this island to him October 11, 1665; it was afterward given to Jonathan Tyng in 1683. It would appear by Wannalancet’s petition in 1665, that he was not the one who was imprisoned.

*There are three versions of this speech extant, differing somewhat in language, but expressing a common sentiment. I think we must give credit to the writer (Gookin) for the language of these Indian speeches, as they evince a thorough knowledge of the English language.

"TO THE WORSHIPFUL RICHARD BELLINGHAM, ESQ., GOV'R, AND
TO THE REST OF THE HONORABLE GENERALL COART:

"The petition of us poore neibor Indians, whose names are hereunto subscribed, humbly sheweth that whereas Indians several years since we yr petit's out of pity and compassion to our pore brother and countryman to redeem him out of prison and bondage, whose name is Nanamocomuck, the elder son of Passaconewa, who was cast into prison for a debt of another Indian unto John Tinker, for which he gave his word; the redemption of whome did cost us our desirable posetions where we and oure had and did hope to enjoy our livelihood for ourselves and posterity; namely, an island on Merri-mac River, called by the name of Wicosurke, which was purchased by Mr. John Web, who hath curtiously given us leave to plant vpon ever since he hath possessed the same, we doe not know wheather to goe nor where to place ourselves for our Livelyhood in procuring vs bread; having beine very sollicitous wh Mr. Web to let vs enjoy our posetions againe, he did condescend to our motion provided we would repay him his charges, but we are poore and cannot so doe. Our request is Mr. Web may have a grant of about 50 acres of land in two places adjoyning his own land in the wilderness, which is our owne proper land, as the aforesaid island ever was.

"10; 8; 65. Noblow in behalf of my wife and children.

"VNANUNQUOSETT

"WANALANCETT

"NONATOMENUT.

"If the court please to grant this then yr petitioner Wannalan-cett is willing to surrender up ye hundred acres of land yt was granted him by the court."

This one hundred acres of land here mentioned is supposed to be a part of the grant to Madam Winthrop, located in what is now called Belvidere.

This island has been called Wickosurke, Wickasuck and Wickasee. Soon after the close of King Philip's war (1676), sixty of the Wamesits or praying Indians were removed to this island and placed under the care of Jonathan Tyng, where they remained about ten years.

In 1669, fearing an attack from the Mohawks, Wannalancet came down the Merrimack River with a party of the Pennacooks, and erected a fortification on what is now called Fort Hill. In 1675, Capt. Mosely with about one hundred men was ordered to march up into the country of the Merrimack and ascertain the state of affairs under Wannalancet. They scouted as far as Pennacook (Concord, N. H.). They could not find the Indians but came upon their wigwams and burned them and destroyed a quantity of dried fish and other articles. No retaliation took place on the part of the Indians; but Wannalancet having had notice of the approach of Mosely, lay concealed while Mosely was destroying his effects, and might have cut off his company, as the young warriors advised, but Wannalancet would not permit a gun to be fired. He respected the advice of his father. On the 3d of May, 1676, Thomas Kimball, of Bradford, was killed and his wife and five children carried into the wilderness. Wannalancet caused them to be sent home to their friends again. It is supposed they were taken by some of the enemy within his sachemdom, or by some over whom he had control. Although twice condemned by these Indians, and the fires made ready to burn them, they were saved by the intercession of the Sachem of Pennacook, and set at liberty without ransom.

This same year (1676) Wannalancet is supposed to have been among the number of four hundred Indians who were enticed by Major Waldron to Dover and were surrounded and captured, somewhat more than half of whom, says Drake, were sold into foreign slavery or executed at Boston. Wannalancet with his men were set at liberty. Efforts were made to get him to return to his former residence at Naumkeke (Litchfield), but

he never felt reconciled there afterwards. Lawless whites had seized upon his lands and looked upon him as having no rights there. In 1677, being visited by a party of Indians from Canada, he was urged, Eliot says, "partly by persuasion, partly by force, to accompany them to their country." He finally consented, and with all his people except two—in number about fifty, of whom not above eight were men—departed for Canada; he was not heard of after. Before going he went to the Rev. Mr. Fiske, of Chelmsford, and inquired of him concerning the welfare of his former acquaintances, and whether the place had suffered much during the war. Mr. Fiske answered that they had been highly favored in that respect and for which he thanked God. "Me next," said the chief, thereby intimating that he was conscious of having prevented mischief from falling upon them.

As late as 1682-'83 there must have been Indians remaining in this neighborhood, as Eliot in a letter to Boyle says "the Mauqueay Indians declare the Eastern Indians to be their enemies, and the way unto them is through us and our Wamesit Indians."

Wannalancet was succeeded by Kankamagus (known to the English as John Hodgkins) son of Nanamocomuck, the eldest son of Passaconaway. He was elected Sagamore by the remnant of the tribe that remained at Penacook after the departure of Wannalancet, and was afterwards joined by many "strange Indians" from other tribes who had become disaffected with the English. Kankamagus was a leader in the massacre of the people of Dover, among whom was Major Waldron. This fact leads me to believe that his father, Nanamocomuck, was the one who was imprisoned by Waldron. If my supposition is correct the following record of events in

his life would tend to corroborate the belief: He was imprisoned for debt as has heretofore been stated, and was taken prisoner by the forty men from Ipswich, Rowley and Newbury; was among the four hundred Indians surrounded and captured by Waldron at Dover, N. H., and although set at liberty, these things were remembered and cherished by his son Kankamagus, who led the party of Indians that committed the massacre at Dover when Waldron was killed.

The aboriginal inhabitants of New England held a low place in the scale of humanity. They had no civil government, no letters, no history, no music, no poetry. They were simple, ignorant and indolent. The Indian women performed all the drudgery of the household and were also the tillers of the soil, the lazy, indolent lords deeming it debasing to engage in aught except hunting, fishing and war. Their principal article of food was Indian corn, prepared in various ways, either boiled alone into hominy, or mixed with beans and called succotash, or parched, or broken up into meal and moistened with water, in which case it was named nookik, since corrupted into "Johnny-cake."

A hoe made of a clam shell or a moose's shoulder-blade, was their only tool of husbandry. Their manure was fish, covered over in the hill with the seed. Fish were taken with lines or nets, the cordage of which was made of the fibres of the dogbane or the sinews of the deer. Hooks were made of sharpened bones of fishes and birds.

Their houses or wigwams were of a circular or oval shape, made of bark or mats laid over a framework of branches of trees stuck in the ground in such a manner as to converge at the top where was an aperture for the escape of the smoke. The better sort had also a lining

of mats. There were two doors, one opposite the other, and mats were used to close the one through which the wind came.

Their manner of expression was vehement and emphatic; their ideas being few, their language was far from copious. They have been called eloquent. Never was a reputation more cheaply earned. Take away their common-places, mountain and thunder, sunset and waterfall, eagle and buffalo, burying the hatchet, smoking the calumet, and lighting the council fire, and the material for their pomp of words is reduced within contemptible dimensions.

Previous to the settlement of New England, war and pestilence had been exceedingly fatal and resulted in the destruction of thousands of Indians. Thus had the country been prepared for the arrival of the emigrants. Gookin puts down the number of the Wamesit Indians previous to the pestilence as "about three thousand," which was reduced to two hundred and fifty in 1674.

It was at Mr. Eliot's motion that care was taken by the government to appoint some of the most prudent and pious Indians in every Indian village that had received the gospel, to be rulers and magistrates among them, to order their affairs, both civil and criminal. These rulers were chosen by themselves, but approved by a higher authority, vested in an English magistrate, who was to join with the chief of their rulers in holding a higher court among them. The English magistrate appointed the time and place of holding court, and consented to judgment. Each village had one or more constables, chosen yearly.

CAPT. SAMUEL MOSELY.

I am indebted to a very interesting article in the April number of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, by the Rev. George M. Bodge of Dorchester, for the following account of Capt. Samuel Mosely :

In the fall of 1635, Henry Maudesly came from England to Massachusetts in the ship Hopewell, Capt. Babb master. Samuel, his son, was born at Braintree, June 14, 1641. The name was abbreviated to Mosely. Samuel married Ann Addington, born March 10, 1647, sister of the Hon. Isaac. They were married previous to May 30, 1665. He was a cooper by trade. In 1668 he is styled captain, having previously been engaged in privateering at Jamaica, in command of a ship. For several years previous to 1675 Boston merchants had been greatly troubled by Dutch pirates, as they were called. In December, 1674, several small English vessels were captured near Mt. Desert. One of these vessels belonged to John Freake of Boston, the others to Waldron of Dover, and Shapley of Kittery. February 15, 1674-5, an expedition was fitted out under command of Capt. Samuel Mosely, who, sailing out, fell in with a French vessel which he impressed into his service, and soon met the Dutchmen. They had three vessels, including the one captured from Mr. Freake, which was in charge of Peter Grant and its former skipper, George Manning, who had been wounded in its capture, and was about to be turned adrift in his boat by the pirates, when in consideration of his promise of good behavior, he was allowed to sail his own craft in convoy of the others, under Dutch colors. When Capt. Mosely attacked the pirates, Manning turned upon his captors and assisted in

their capture. It appears from a note in the Register that these Dutch pirates came into the port of Boston in 1674 and obtained permission of the Governor to make repairs on their vessel. When they departed a part of the crew was left behind; these hired Thomas Mitchell, of Malden, and a vessel of which he was part owner, for a trading voyage to the eastward. Mitchell was taken with the others but testified that he opposed their acts of piracy. He was discharged at the trial, under bonds for his appearance.

Capt. Mosely, the hero of this successful enterprise, became the most popular man in the colony, and was looked upon as the proper man for a leader in the war against the Indians, which had broken out in the meantime. The rule of official succession in the colonial militia being very strict, Mosely never having held a military office, the only course left for him to pursue, and which perhaps suited him best, was to organize an independent company of volunteers. It is said that within three hours 110 enlisted, among them many of his old associates in privateering and several of the released pirates. The "Old Indian Chronicle" relates that ten or twelve privateers had several dogs with them, which rendered valuable service in "finding out the enemy in their swamps." It is supposed Capt. Mosely marched out of Boston early in the morning of June 27, 1675, and joined his volunteers with the troops of Henchman and Prentice in the afternoon, and then marched to Swansea. Gen. Cudworth, of the Plymouth forces, was commander-in-chief.

The account of the pursuit of King Philip I shall omit, and hasten to that which relates to the doings along the Merrimack River. The following letter from him to the Governor will explain his course and actions, premis-

ing that in making the transcript the spelling has been corrected :

"FROM NASHUA, ALIAS LANCASTER, }
August 16, 1675. }

"HONORED SIR—Yesterday I spared Capt. Beers and twenty-six of our men to march with him to Springfield, and it was with Major Willard's order; and I have also, according to my orders from Major General Dennison, sent to Dunstable fort to enlarge the guard eighteen men, to Groton twelve men, and to Chelmsford twelve men, out of those that were under Capt. Henchman and of those that came with me. Also last night about seven o'clock we marched into Nashua (Lancaster), where we are at present, but shall as soon as the constable hath pressed us a dozen horses, proceed for Groton and so to Chelmsford, according to the order Major Willard gave me yesterday at Quoahbaugh (Brookfield). The day before I came to Quoahbaugh I marched in company with Capt. Beers and Capt. Lathrop to the swamp, where they left me and took their march to Springfield; and as soon as they were gone I took my march into the woods, about eight miles beyond the swamp where Capt. Hutchinson and the rest were that were wounded and killed, and so returned to follow the enemy as above said; also we did find a parcel of wigwams beyond the swamp, about twenty of which we burned, etc. Our Major having a certain intelligence of a considerable party of Indians that have gathered together a little above Chelmsford, which I hope we shall be up with this night or to-morrow at farthest, and if it please God I come up with them, God assisting me, I will closely engage with them, and God sparing my life, I shall as opportunity gives leave, acquaint your honor of my actions. I have with me but sixty men at present, so desiring your prosperity and that it may please God to preserve your honor in good health, and humbly beseech your prayers to God for any good success in this my undertaking, with my humble services, etc., in all duty fullness I subscribe myself your respected kinsman and humble servant,

"SAMUEL MOSLEY.

"My cousin Leverett presents his duty to your honor and my annt."

"Between August 9th and 16th he had marched from Mendon to Brookfield, where he distributed his men

as above. On the 17th he probably marched towards Chelmsford as proposed, but on the 22d some of the Nipmuck Indians fell upon Lancaster and killed seven or nine inhabitants, and the next day the people sent for Capt. Mosely and told him of their suspicions of the Hassanemissit (friendly or praying Indians) then living under supervision in a sort of fort at Marlborough. Capt. Mosely hastily marched to the fort and seized eleven (or according to Major Gookin's account, fifteen) of the Indians, 'pinioned' them and bound them neck to neck and sent them down to Boston for trial. Of the fifteen only eleven were accused; all were finally found innocent and acquitted, and Capt. Mosely's proceeding severely criticised by the court and his superior officers. Major Gookin believed that the people instigated suspicious 'in order to secure the land of the Indians.' After sending these prisoners down, August 30th, Capt. Mosely marched up the Merrimack as far as Pennacook (Concord, N. H.), to the home of the peaceful Wannalancet, where he was prepared to repeat the late transaction; but the Pennacooks had quietly withdrawn and eluded him. He burnt their village and stores of food, and marched back. Capt. Mosely's course was not approved, and the Court immediately sent messengers to win back the friendship of Wannalancet."

The town of Dunstable, per constable Jona. Tyng, presented a bill of about £100 for billeting Mosely's men, ammunition, etc. An auditing committee questioned the bill, but he was paid £20 on account, October 11, 1676. (Archives, Vol. 68.) The items were

Billeting 18 men from 13th Aug. to 10 Sept., 1675,	£16 16 0
Billeting 29 men from 11th Sept. to 17 Jan., 1675,	47 18 0
Billeting 6 men from 17 Jan. to 25 May, 1676,	25 3 0
Billeting 3 men from 3rd May to 14 July, 1676,	8 8 0
25 lbs. powder and 250 bullets, etc.,	1 15 0
2 horses, 3 days to Pennacook,	1 6

The first item may have been for Mosely's men, but at the dates of the other items Mosely was in a different section of the country fighting the Indians. It may have been in consideration of the balance of Tyng's account, and the charge and care of the Indians who were quartered at Wickasee Island, that he was granted the possession of Wickasee Island in 1683. In a letter dated October 16, 1675, Mosely and his men captured a squaw and thus describes her fate: "This aforesaid Indian was ordered to be torn to pieces by dogs, and she was so delt with." Humanity shudders at this avowal.

- Taking into consideration the school in which these warriors were educated, and the times in which they lived, we ought to make allowances for their fears, prejudices and actions. Even Mosely felt it necessary to apologize to the Governor for his course, as he says in a letter dated October 5, 1675: "I desire to be excused if my tongue or pen has outrun my wit, being in a passion and seeing what mischief had been done by the Indians, which I have been eye-witness to, would make a wiser person than I am willing to have revenge of any of them."

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THE OLD RESIDENTS'

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LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

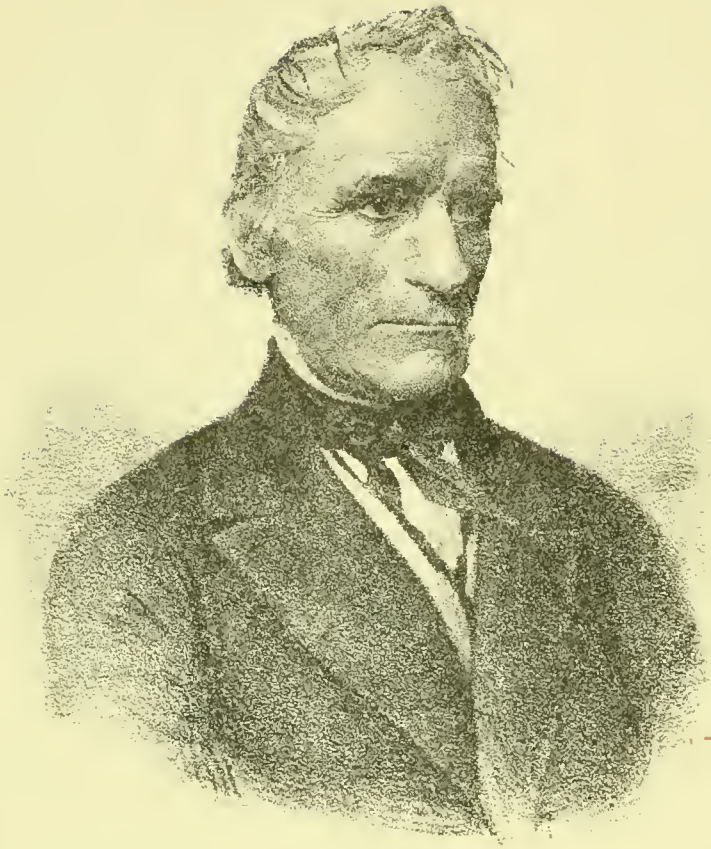
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1885.



Saml. Batchelder

Cambridge August 16. 1852

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CONTENTS.

XI.	Reminiscences of the High School, by C. C. Chase	. . . 113
XII.	Health of Lowell, by Nathan Allen, M. D.	. . . 145
XIII.	Consecration of St. Anne's Church, March 16, 1825, by J. O. Green, M. D.	. . . 159
XIV.	Rev. Amos Blanchard, D. D., by D. N. Patterson, M. D.	. 169
XV.	Samuel Batchelder, by Rev. W. R. Bagnall	. . . 187
XVI.	Annual Report of the President	. . . 212

XI. Reminiscences of the High School, by C. C. Chase. Read May 8, 1884.

SEVENTEEN years of boyhood on my father's farm and in preparatory study, four years of college life, six years as preceptor in an academy, and thirty-eight years as principal of our High School,—this constitutes the short and simple outline of the record of my life. These years have been blessed with almost uninterrupted health, and crowned, beyond my desert, with the kindness of friends and the goodness of heaven. Belonging to a family of eight, all of whom at some time have been employed as teachers, I have always felt that there was something in the teacher's life and work congenial to my nature. Having always endeavored to pursue a fair and conciliatory course, and, in all the thousand difficulties which beset a teacher's life, to listen kindly to the other side, my wars have usually been settled before the first hostile encounter, and I cannot tell of many victories won, or speak of

Most disastrous chances,
Of moving accidents by flood and field.

There are some men of vivid imagination and poetic mode of thought, who see in those events of life which most men call common and unimportant, something so startling and dramatic, that they never cease from entertaining their friends by rehearsing them. I once knew a quiet farmer who, on account of the death of a brother

in the South, took two journeys on horseback from Vermont to Georgia. This man had a poetic temperament, and I have heard him say that he was compelled to give up the reading of the poems of Sir Walter Scott, because they so filled his thoughts as seriously to impede him in his labors on the farm. These two journeys to the South, which would have been tiresome to some men, were to his mind, so filled with dramatic incidents that, to the eightieth year of his life, he made them the theme of never-ceasing interest. I have listened again and again with pleasure to his stories of travel, such a glow of romance and poetry he threw over each event. To such men every stream they have forded is a swift and dangerous torrent, every unkempt straggler a bearded highway robber, every steep hillside a fearful precipice, and every storm a desolating tempest. You will pardon me if I am unable to embellish my humble career as a teacher with any such dramatic adornments. A life of a tenor so uniform and uneventful as mine has been affords but few reminiscences worthy of publication, and if I furnish you with subsequent articles upon teaching and the teacher's work, I must be allowed to take a wide range and not feel myself confined too strictly to reminiscences, or even to any logical order or regular sequence of thought.

The teacher's life at the present day, moreover, is so encompassed round about by rules and regulations of committee men, and is so involved in the life of his fellow-teachers in the same school, that very much that is distinctive and peculiar in him, disappears and fades away into the character of the institution to which he belongs. In former days it was not so. Then the history of a school was simply the history of its teacher. At every fireside the teacher was the theme of old and young. I have been interested to observe how the

memory of the peculiarities of the teachers of seventy years ago still lingers in the minds of men. There was old Master Gile of Essex County, famous in his day for teaching the school from which other teachers had been turned out. Old people still tell of his eccentric ways. In one rebellious school he makes a huge fire, closes every door and window, and solemnly declares he will cast upon the fire the first who dares to disobey. In another school, for the purpose of inspiring a wholesome dread in the little vexatious urchins on the front seat, he displays before them, to the best advantage, the huge circumference of his body, and then asks them if they can tell why he is so large. When no answer is returned, he significantly whispers that it is because he has eaten so many little boys. In another school when several of the ladies of the district came to the school house to complain of his rough treatment of their daughters, he meets the leader at the door with an ardent lover's salute, whereupon the whole company beat a hasty retreat with a step less firm, but far more swift than that with which they came.

But still in the old master's heart there was room for love and tenderness. His name was honored, and he died in good old age in Danvers (now Peabody) of this state. In the family record of one of my ancestors I find his name recorded, and I have dutifully visited his grave. On the stone which marks the spot, I found inscribed these quaint but beautiful words :

"I taught little children to read."

But exploits like those of Master Gile are not found in the life of the modern teacher. The heroic age is passed, and we are all common, average men.

But thought and reason have no heroic age, and if, instead of confining myself to reminiscences, I can be

allowed, from time to time, to give you my views upon the work of the teacher and the interest of our schools, I shall be happy to comply with your kind request.

I was elected principal of the High School in 1845 by a school board consisting of the following six gentlemen: Dr. John O. Green, a graduate of Harvard College, and still a revered and honored citizen of Lowell; Dr. Abner H. Brown, a graduate of Dartmouth College and professor in the Berkshire Medical School; Rev. Dr. A. A. Miner, who has since been president of Tufts College and pastor of a prominent church in Boston; Frederic Parker, Esq., a graduate of Harvard College, a man of literary taste and a well-known lawyer in our own city; John Wright, Esq., a graduate of Harvard or Amherst, well known as the agent of the Suffolk mills; and Rev. S. W. Hanks, then the pastor of the John Street Congregational Church. These were all men of superior mental culture, and well qualified by experience and education for the important trust committed to their hands. They had, as I suppose, no political aspirations, nor were they recognized as belonging to any political party. It was the early policy of our city to entrust her schools to men like these.

Of these gentlemen I will especially speak of only two. Dr. Green was the sub-committee of the High School, and I have always esteemed him a model school committee man. He faithfully visited the school every week, and in the most quiet and unobtrusive manner observed its condition and learned and supplied its wants. He did not praise or flatter, but I soon found that the teacher and the school had no firmer, truer friend. The city often honored him with a place on the school board, and to this day owes him a great debt of gratitude for his wise and efficient labors in behalf of her public schools.

I will not leave unmentioned the honored and beloved name of Dr. Brown. He was my classmate and friend, and to him more than to any other man, I owe the success and honors of my life. He was one of the earliest pupils of the High School, when Bishop Clark was its principal, and in subsequent time he was himself elected to the principalship of the school. But consumption had marked him as its own, and he did not think it safe to assume the arduous duties of the office. Of few of her sons has our city so much cause to be proud, and few have been so tenderly and sincerely mourned.

I think it greatly to be regretted that, at the present time, throughout the country, clergymen and men of age and experience who have no political aspirations, are so seldom elected to the school board. I know what I say when I affirm that teachers, like all other men, are greatly influenced by those who are placed over them. A committee man of high character, long experience and superior qualification for his work, is a great power in any school. The teacher respects him and feels that his school is to be judged by its true merits. There is nothing like such a feeling to give tone and character to a school. No motive is more healthful and inspiring than the assurance that we are to be wisely judged and in strict accordance with our deserts.

A deterioration in the school board will be surely followed by a like deterioration in the teachers, and then in the schools themselves. A stream will not rise higher than its fountain, and our schools will not rise to a higher plane than that on which they who control them stand. The school is not like the family. The latter is founded in nature and has life in itself. It needs no higher motive to preserve its life than parental love. But the school did not exist in Eden. It is an artificial

institution, and it will surely sink to a lower and still lower level, unless inspired with ever-new energy, and guarded with never-ceasing vigilance. Not more surely will the bird which folds its wings in the air fall to the ground, than our schools will lose their efficiency and value without constantly renewed efforts to sustain and improve them. The first step towards elevating the standard of our public schools, is to place over them, as supervisors, men whose wisdom and experience will demand the respect of the teachers, the confidence of the parents, and the reverence of the pupils.

We must not undervalue the influence of leading men in moulding our institutions. There is sometimes a single man of whom that may be said which was spoken of Roderick Dhu,

“ One blast upon his bugle horn
Were worth a thousand men.”

Such a leader was Horace Mann, and to nothing do the schools of Massachusetts owe so much of their excellence of organization as to his iron will, his untiring energy, and his sublime enthusiasm.

So also in civil life, how many communities throughout the country are what they are because of the character and influence of a very few leading men in early and plastic days. As one of many examples I point to the Fairbanks family of St. Johnsbury, Vermont. No town in the state has probably so valuable a library or so excellent and flourishing an academy, but these and many others of its institutions are the creations of this benevolent family—a family which has furnished two governors to the state, and with wise forethought and noble generosity has striven to purify and elevate the character of the people among whom they dwell. I plead for the institutions of our own city that they may be placed under the control of our purest, ablest, and

most disinterested men. I always favored the creation of the office of superintendent of schools. Every large city which expends annually one or two hundred thousand dollars upon its schools, needs such an officer. Reports, statistics, salaries, and the thousand wants of the numerous schools, require his services. But if upon this officer, alone or mainly, is also to devolve the great duty of visiting the schools, watching over their moral and intellectual condition, and elevating them to a higher and still higher standard of excellence, the office had better be abolished. It cannot be denied that there is now a tendency in school boards to neglect these great duties. I have myself received great kindness at the hands of the school boards of our city, still I hope it will not seem ungrateful in me to complain that I have often been obliged to consult the records to find whether certain of their number were members of the High School Committee or not. Our schools cannot afford to be neglected.

Lowell High School during the first few years of its existence was an institution of very nomadic character. It was first opened, with forty-seven pupils, in December, 1831, in a small building at the corner of Middlesex and Elliot Streets. This was a building of one story and had been erected as a counting room by the Hamilton Corporation. After two or more removals it seems to have lost its history, and to have vanished from the recognition of all who had once frequented it. In 1864, Mayor Sherman, who was one of the early pupils of the school, suggested that it had probably been metamorphosed into a common dwelling. He affectionately sought for it, but it could not be found.*

* Since this paper was read, Ex-Mayor Peabody has informed me that this building, having been removed and enlarged, is now on the South side of Middlesex Street, and is the third building West of Howard Street. It has been raised above a brick basement, and is divided into several small and cheap tenements.

The school next "pitched its moving tent" in a lower room of what is now the Free Chapel on Middlesex Street, the headquarters of Rev. Mr. Duganne, the esteemed city missionary of Lowell. Its next removal was to the Edson School house. After a short interregnum, caused, I believe, by the resignation of the principal, the school was reopened in Concert Hall, which was at or near the site of the store of Hosford & Co., on Merrimack Street. In early days, Concert Hall was a much frequented place of entertainment. Once in my college days, when visiting Lowell, I remember there to have heard, for the first time, Mr. Perez Fuller, who for many years was the delight of all who reveled in comic song.

The next migration of the school was to the Bartlett school house. Afterwards it took up its abode in the attic of the brick church on Suffolk Street, then occupied by the Baptist Church, which now worships on Worthen Street. This building was subsequently occupied by St. Mary's Church, and is now used for a parochial school. Again the High School returned to its second place of abode. Thus, for its first nine years, this institution, like the ark in the wilderness, wandered from place to place, until, in the autumn of 1840, it found an abiding home in the building which it has now occupied for forty-three years.

This building, I am aware, has been very severely criticized, especially for its architectural defects and its insufficient accommodations. But for myself, I believe it to be, on the whole, well adapted to the wants of the school. I have never sympathized with those who have clamored for a new and more imposing house. Its location is central, its internal arrangements are simple, and, as to size, it is amply capable of accommodating all pupils of the city who would be benefited by leaving the

studies of the grammar schools and entering upon a high school course.

I do not believe in costly and splendid school buildings. My own observation is that they do not add to the efficiency of our schools. As the family which leaves the modest and comfortable home of early years—a home endeared by a thousand hallowed memories—and enters a new and splendid mansion where there is nothing old and dear, and where expense and care take the place of home-like comfort and fireside enjoyments, has lost far more than it has gained, so, I sometimes think, a school which in its modest house was a scene of delightful harmony and earnest pursuits of learning, loses much of its efficiency and love of study when transferred to a stately edifice in which “magnificent distances” separate the pupil from his teacher and his mates, and the architecture and furniture of the building, rather than the intellectual progress of the pupils, attract the admiring gaze. Americans are amazed at seeing the humble and dingy rooms of the great historic schools of England, but the English student finds a charm in the well-worn aisles, the battered walls and the simple desks on which are cut a thousand names of celebrated men. I cannot approve of wanton defacement of a building, but I admire the Englishman’s love of places consecrated by so many sacred associations with the past.

I fear that some of our American cities are moving quite fast enough in the direction of costly school edifices. We must consider that all buildings are perishable, and must be frequently repaired and at length entirely rebuilt, so that it is estimated that their annual rent should be ten per cent. of their original cost. By this estimate, the rent alone of the new high school house of Boston would pay the salaries for all future

time, of one hundred and fifty lady teachers at six hundred dollars each per year! But this is only one of the many high school buildings of Boston. It is pleasant to look upon a thing of beauty, but it is sometimes wise to count the cost. We gaze with wonder upon the pyramids of Egypt, but our admiration would be turned to horror, could we also behold upon the plain the bodies of the thousands of slaves who miserably perished in building them. Public extravagance is not always innocent. When it comes to be true that the rent of a convict's cell is twice as great as that of the humble dwelling of his innocent and suffering family, it is time for us to consider how much of the hard-earned wealth of the community it is wise to bury forever in lifeless stone and brick and mortar. The spirit of freedom loves a modest abode. In the glorious days of Salamis, the house of the great Themistocles did not differ from the simple dwellings of his neighbors, but the Parthenon was erected when freedom began to wane, and stands as a monument of liberties lost forever. The sumptuous Solomon, dwelling in a gorgeous palace which it took him thirteen years to build, might well attract the admiration of the eastern queen, but when he died his people indignantly murmured at his grievous burden and his "heavy yoke," and his kingdom was rent in twain.

The first principal of Lowell High School was Thomas M. Clark, who afterwards became the distinguished bishop of Rhode Island. He came to his post of duty when only nineteen years of age, and full of the buoyancy and ardor of youth. On the Monday morning, in December, 1831, when the school opened, he found assembled forty-seven scholars in the diminutive building of which I have already spoken. More than thirty years afterward, Bishop Clark, in speaking of this building and

of the school, playfully remarked that he did not then flog the boys for two reasons; first, because the house was not large enough for the performance of the operation, and second, because he was so small and young that he feared the boys might undertake to flog their teacher. But the true secret was in the man. His pupils saw in him so much to admire, such personal magnetism, such fresh enthusiasm, such hearty sympathy, that he had no need of a government of compulsion. The admiration was mutual, and the bishop in after years declared that, at this time, he used firmly to believe that there never was such a splendid set of boys as he had.

At the High School reunion in 1863, in Huntington Hall, Bishop Clark pleasantly spoke of some of these favorite boys. He mentioned Gustavus V. Fox, who at the very time of this reunion, was nobly serving his country in the war, and who afterwards, as a naval officer, was sent on a mission of high honor, to the Empire of Russia. He then referred with pride to "another fair-haired boy—a good scholar—an excellent declaimer—and withal a modest boy, who became a great man." It was Benjamin F. Butler, who at that time was at the acme of his military renown.

At this point allow me to digress for a moment to state a pleasing incident of that occasion. After the bishop had closed his speech, he was invited to take the chair and act once more the part of teacher as of old. With august dignity he complied and began the regular exercises of his mimic school. "The first exercise," said the master, "will be a declamation by Benjamin F. Butler." Governor Butler, who was in the hall, with all due promptness and timidity took his position on the stage, made his bow, and began his speech, prefacing it with the apology that he "had not studied his piece." I

need not report the Governor's speech, but the whole scene was richly enjoyed and loudly applauded.

In those early days of Mr. Clark, there was a degree of freedom of action on the part of the teachers which the more systematic management of the present time would hardly permit. To confirm this allow me to quote from the pleasant reminiscences of Mayor Sherman, who was one of his pupils: "Mr Clark loved to make himself one of us—was sportive and frolicsome. In some of our games he delighted to join. In jumping matches he was as agile as any of us—was very fond of pitching quoits, and had a set of iron ones cast for his special use. An unfinished game would sometimes prolong our recess to a most generous length. He made the scholars his friends at once." The same gentleman gives us an account of a ride of a company of high school boys with Mr. Clark to Newburyport, his native place, in order to celebrate their teacher's twenty-first birthday, and of the right jolly time which they all had.

At the close of Mr. Clark's service of less than two years, the school, under the auspices of a literary society connected with it, determined upon having a public exhibition. This was opposed by the school board, of which Dr. Edson was then chairman. But the scholars persisted, and having procured the use of the Baptist Church on Church Street, held their exhibition on August 31, 1833. With one exception the exercises were original, and, I believe, were received with great eclat. On the programme of these exercises, which is now before me, I see the well-known names of Amos B. French, Benjamin F. Butler, Abner H. Brown, and John C. Dalton. At the reunion to which I have already referred, Bishop Clark, in speaking of his rebellious conduct in favoring and holding this exhibition, turned

to Dr. Edson, who was then upon the stage, and playfully made a handsome and humble apology.

The second principal of the High School was Mr. Nicholas Hoppin, subsequently long known and respected as rector of Christ's Church in Cambridge, Mass. He was in office but a short time, and if he failed in any manner to sustain the enthusiasm awakened by his predecessor, an ample apology is suggested in the words of Holy Writ: "What can a man do who cometh after the king?" Mr. Hoppin is still living. Mr. William Hall, who succeeded Mr. Hoppin, held the position but a few months, when he tendered his resignation and engaged in the practice of law in Pittsburg, Pa., where he died in early life.

In 1835 Mr. Franklin Forbes, a graduate of Amherst, principal of the high school in Marblehead, was elected as the successor of Mr. Hall. After holding the position for about one year, he was appointed master of the Winthrop Grammar School in Boston, and once more our High School was without a head. In 1842, after an absence of six years, Mr. Forbes was again elected principal of the school, his two terms of service amounting to more than four years. He was a thorough teacher, a strict disciplinarian, and he exhibited in the school that executive ability which afterwards distinguished him as the efficient agent of the Lancaster Mills in Clinton, Mass. He died at Clinton in 1877.

Mr. Moody Currier, a graduate of Dartmouth, was the principal of the school from 1836 to 1841. During the last year of his service, in the autumn of 1840, the school took possession of the building which it now occupies. On leaving his position, Mr. Currier engaged in the practice of law in Manchester, N. H., where he now resides, holding a high position among the honored

men of the city. His numerous political friends have recently strongly urged his claims to the office of governor of the state.

Mr. Nehemiah Cleaveland, a popular teacher in Phillips Academy in Exeter, N. H., was elected to succeed Mr. Currier in 1841, and held the position a little more than one year. He was a man of high intellectual culture and fine literary taste. His popularity in the school was unbounded. He left his position in 1842 to take charge of a select school of young ladies and to engage in more congenial literary labors in the city of Brooklyn.*

Mr. Forbes' second term of service, referred to above, followed that of Mr. Cleaveland, ending in 1845, when I was elected principal of the school.

Of my term of service I will, in this article, only remark that though it was nearly three times as long as the combined terms of all my predecessors, yet to myself it seems short and uneventful. Something like this, however, occurs in the history of every institution. Its first days are its historic days. The colony of one hundred men who landed from the Mayflower on Plymouth rock made more history than ten thousand who now settle on the fertile plains of the West; and the battle of Lexington, in which only eight men were lost, seems to us almost as momentous as that of Gettysburg, in which more than forty thousand fell. Our own acts, while we are performing them, seem tame and commonplace, but perhaps to some future chronicler the events which appear so trivial to-day may assume a historic importance of which we now but little dream.

In 1840, when the High School entered the building

*Mr. Cleaveland was born in Topsfield, Mass., in 1796, and died in Westport, Conn., in 1877, aged 80 years.

which it now occupies, a new policy was inaugurated. Heretofore pupils of both sexes had sat in the same room and recited in the same classes. But at that time, on account of some reported irregularities or other causes, an opinion prevailed that the moral welfare of the school demanded that the boys and girls should enter the house from different streets, and should be kept separate from each other during the sessions of the school.

I never believed in this policy. No doubt in a large school in which every day ten thousand things are done and said by thoughtless children, a person, severe in judging and fond of scandal, could in the course of a year gather quite a list of unbecoming acts and imprudent words. Such scandal has sometimes come to my ears, but upon investigation, I have almost always found it to be entirely groundless or greatly exaggerated. Let any candid observer visit the High School for a day, and he will discover but little disposition on the part of the pupils of the different sexes to notice one another in any objectionable way. The truth is that there is so much greater freedom allowed at home, at social parties, on evening walks, at picnics, and the many places of amusement and entertainment, where the young freely meet without supervision, that there is little temptation for them to do, in violation of rules and in the presence of teachers, what can easily be done in a hundred other places without offending anybody or meeting with any restraint.

In spite of occasional exceptions, I believe that, as a rule, the two sexes which so freely mingle in domestic and social life, should, in like manner, be educated together under the watchful eye of the faithful teacher.

By degrees, however, this separation in the school

has disappeared, and now pupils of both sexes again sit in the same rooms and recite in the same classes.

While this policy of separation prevailed, each department had its own principal. Miss Lucy E. Penhallow, who was the first principal of the female department, was a teacher of large experience, and great executive ability. After a service of six years she resigned her office, but resided in Lowell until the time of her death, about three years since. She was known and honored for her active participation in works of benevolence, and especially for her kindness to the poor.

She was succeeded in 1846 by Miss Susan E. Burdick, a lady whose cultivated mind and personal attractions soon won the affections of her pupils, and made her one of the most popular of teachers. In 1850 she resigned her position, and subsequently became the wife of Mr. Wm. F. Channing. She is now living in Jamaica Plain, Mass.

Miss Burdick was succeeded by Miss Anne B. Sawyer, who brought to the position a high reputation gained as a teacher in the schools of Boston. But a higher call from without took her from the school after a short service of two years, and, as the wife of the Hon. Daniel S. Richardson, she is still known and honored in the city for the benevolence of her life.

In 1852 Mr. Jonathan Kimball took charge of the female department as the sub-principal of the school. He was a Lowell boy, and one of the early pupils of the High School. He was a natural scholar, and in the school he won the affections of the pupils, and was known as a popular and successful teacher. He resigned his position in 1857 to become the principal of the high school in Dorchester, Mass. He has also served as superintendent of schools in Salem and Chelsea, and still resides, I believe, in the latter place.

Mr. Lloyd W. Hixon, who succeeded Mr. Kimball in 1857, was also a Lowell boy, a graduate of the High School and of Dartmouth College, and a gentleman of high moral character. After a faithful service of two years, he left his position to take charge of a private school. He now resides in Newburyport.

Miss Mary F. Eastman, a graduate of the High School, next took charge of the female department of the school. She was an accomplished and highly esteemed teacher. After a service of nearly four years, she left her position to take charge of a school in Meadville, Pa. She now resides in the neighboring town of Tewksbury, and is well known in the community for her success as a public speaker.

For some time between 1863 and 1865 this department was in charge of Mr. J. J. Colton, a graduate of Amherst, and a gentleman of high character and superior talents. He is now well known as a physician in Lowell, and as one of our most respected citizens.

Mr. Gorham D. Williams, who took charge of the female department in 1865, was a graduate of Harvard, and he brought with him a high reputation as a scientific scholar. It was his first experience in teaching, and in one year he left the employment for the more congenial study and practice of law in the western part of the state, where, I believe, he still resides.

Mr. Levi S. Burbank was placed over this department in 1866. He was distinguished for his love of the sciences, and did more than any other teacher has done to provide the school with good philosophical and chemical apparatus and an excellent cabinet of geological specimens. After a service of seven years he left the school to take charge of the Warren Academy in Woburn, Mass., where he died three or four years ago.

From 1873 to 1880 Mr. Edwin H. Lord, a graduate of Bowdoin College, served as first assistant teacher and head of the scientific department of the school. He was an excellent disciplinarian and a gentleman of superior ability. His popularity and success in Lowell gained for him the appointment as principal of the high school in Lawrence, where he still resides.

Mr. Frank F. Coburn, the successor of Mr. Lord, has now become my own successor as principal of the school. It is a pleasure to me to see in the chair which I occupied so long, one whom I loved as a pupil, and whom I still respect as a gentleman and cherish as a friend.

It is obvious that the proper limit of this article will not allow me to speak particularly of each of the numerous assistant teachers who have been my faithful co-laborers in the instruction of the school. I must, however, make one exception, that of Mr. James S. Russell, who for forty-three years was the well-known teacher of mathematics. I have never known a teacher more fond of the branches in which he instructed, more devoted to his work, or more untiring in the performance of his duty.

Gladly would I also speak of many others—of Messrs. Young, Scripture, McDaniels, Farnsworth, Harrison, Lawton, Metcalf and Willey—of many excellent lady teachers, too, who while equal to the gentlemen in talent and efficiency, have faithfully served the city for less than half the salary.

If Lowell High School has sent forth but few distinguished men, it is for the very good reason that the number of such men is exceedingly small. Let us look at Lowell now, with her sixty-six thousand inhabitants. We find clergymen, lawyers, physicians, and merchants, who have made for themselves an honorable record, but

how few can be justly said to have an exalted name. Gov. Butler is doubtless the most distinguished graduate of the school. The late ex-Governor E. A. Straw, of New Hampshire, and President Charles A. Aiken, of Union College, have also risen to eminent positions. Prof. John C. Dalton, of New York; Prof. McDaniels, of Hobart College, N. Y.; Prof. Proctor, of Dartmouth College; Prof. Brown, of the Berkshire Medical School, and many others in the learned professions, have gained for themselves an enviable name. I might also mention Gustavus V. Fox, Assistant Secretary of the Navy; Benjamin Dean, member of Congress; H. H. Huse, speaker of the New Hampshire House of Representatives; Theodore H. Sweetser, an eminent advocate; George Stark, a distinguished railroad manager, and J. C. Ayer, John C. Southwick and John D. Prince, distinguished for financial ability and success. The High School has given to Lowell as Mayors, Messrs. Sherman, Stott, J. A. G. Richardson, Greenhalge, and Donovan.

Many of the graduates of this school have held the highest position in the colleges or higher institutions of learning to which they subsequently belonged. I have been informed that President Aiken, Prof. McDaniels and Rev. James O. Scripture, not only "led" their own classes, but all the four classes in the colleges of which they were members. It is now more than twenty years since a graduate of this school has been recommended for admission to any college and failed to be admitted, and only two have thus failed for at least thirty-eight years. Probably more than two hundred have gone from this school to college and other higher institutions of learning.

But unlike the academies in Exeter and Andover, the great work of the High School has not been to

prepare a few young men for college, but rather to qualify a very large number of the sons of our citizens to hold honorable positions in the world of business, and a still larger number of their daughters to adorn with intellectual culture the domestic and social life of our city.

It is sometimes asserted, and even proclaimed in the papers of the day, that a high school education tends to unfit a boy for a life of business, and that a business man in selecting a clerk prefers to take him from the grammar, rather than from the high school. Some men like to talk in this smart way. The truth to them seems tame, and they delight in a startling paradox. To assert, for example, that the children of unworthy parents are wont to be themselves unworthy also, sounds weak and commonplace to such men, but the trite old falsehood that clergymen's sons and deacons' daughters are especially prone to "follow evil ways," has a ring to it that gives them great delight. It has occurred to me that I could apply a practical test to the accuracy of the above statement in regard to the employment of high school boys by business men. It has seemed to me that no men were more shrewd and intelligent in selecting their employes than the directors and managers of the banks and the great manufacturing corporations of our city. Accordingly I have recently made an investigation in the twelve of these institutions which are the nearest and most convenient for me to reach. These are the Merrimack, Boott, Prescott, Massachusetts, Lawrence, and Suffolk Corporations, and the Railroad, Merchants, Prescott, Old Lowell, First National, and Appleton Banks. In the counting rooms of these institutions I found employed, as paymasters, cashiers and clerks, forty who had attended a high school and only nine who had not. Had I

not included the "runner" boys the contrast would have been still more striking. When now we consider that only about one-seventh as many boys are found in the high school as in the grammar schools, it seems evident that our shrewdest business men, after all, do not quite believe in the doctrine that the more a boy is educated the less fit he becomes for the business and responsibilities of life.

In writing reminiscences of the High School it would be convenient to have a complete record of the lives of the pupils after they have left the school. But it would be almost impossible to keep such a record, and the advantages of it would not warrant the great labor. Pupils leave the school at the average rate of one for every two school days, and they give us no record of their future career. It is exceedingly difficult to learn what they are doing or where they are. In colleges the age of the students, and the intimate ties of brotherhood, are such that such a record is possible, but in a large city school in which less than half the pupils complete the course of study, it is far different.

It would be especially interesting to publish the "Roll of Honor" of those who fought in the war of the rebellion. In that great struggle the graduates of the school nobly sustained the honor of their *alma mater*. I can only mention a few honored names. Generals John C. Caldwell and Michael T. Donohoe gained distinguished honor. Few officers engaged in so many hard-fought battles, or saw so many of their brave men fall around them, or brought from the field so many honorable wounds. Capt. Joseph A. Sladen, a delicate boy, filled with patriotic ardor at the very beginning of the conflict, though mutilated by the loss of a limb, served bravely to the end of the war.

Of those who fell I can mention only a few. In doing this I shall be pardoned if I repeat the words which I used at the High School reunion in Huntington Hall in 1864, when the tidings of their loss was still fresh in our minds: "Of those who have recently left us I can but mention a few beloved names. With mingled grief and pride I point you to Capt. Edward G. Abbott, who at the fearful charge at Cedar Mountain, made upon our feeble forces by the brave and impetuous Jackson, disdained to lie upon the ground, as he tenderly allowed his men to do, and presented his noble form as a target to the foe; to Major Henry L. Abbott, his noble brother, a mind cast in the finest mould, who was wounded in his arm as he waved his sword and called upon his brave comrades to follow him to the thickest of the fight; to Lieut. Solon A. Perkins, as daring a rider as ever mounted steed, and of so brave a spirit that he seemed to delight in danger; to James Hall, whose love of country was the strongest passion of his pure and youthful heart; to Fox and Thurston and others who found a patriot's grave beneath the southern sun. Of such men their *alma mater* may well be proud."

To one who, after a lapse of years, revisits the school of which he was once a member, there comes a strange illusion. The seats in which in his school-boy days there sat a company of young gentlemen on the verge of manhood, are now filled with a motley crowd of little boys; and the fair and elegant young ladies who once challenged his admiration and respect, have all departed, and little girls not half so beautiful or half so attractive, are filling their places. When told that the records of the school will show that the pupils in his school days were quite as young as those he now sees before him, he is filled with amazement and finds it almost impossible to

believe it. This illusion is universal. Olden times by degrees put on a heroic character, and aged men who talk about them, look wise and serious, when, in scripture phrase, they tell us "there were giants in those days." The story of Rip Van Winkle is not a wild freak of poetic fancy, but has in it a fine touch of nature and of truth; for after the lapse of years we all wake to find ourselves in a new world unlike the world of our youth. I never knew but one class of college seniors, who were worthy of the name, and that was the class which I knew in my freshman year. How I gazed and admired! What dignity! What manliness! What scholarly and thoughtful faces! But they had no successors, and ever since a college senior is only a common man.

I have, perhaps, dwelt too long upon this point, but I think it important in judging our schools that we should be aware of this universal illusion, and not think meanly of the present when we compare it with the past.

In reference to Lowell High School, of which I am especially to speak, the age of its pupils in its early days was considerably less than it is at the present time. I happen to have before me the record of the ages (in years) of the thirty-eight boys who were members of the school in May, 1835. Among them are some who are now well known among us as almost venerable men. I will mention, as examples, Messrs. F. F. Battles, Phineas Whiting, Benjamin Walker and Horace B. Shattuck. But in those days they were not venerable men. Mr. Shattuck was only ten years old, and the average age of these thirty-eight boys was only thirteen years and nine months. But the ages (in years) of the boys of the school in May, 1883, gives us an average of fifteen years and eight months; that is almost two years higher than in 1835. In former times pupils were sometimes as

young as nine or ten years of age, but for several years past the limit has been fixed by the rule at twelve years.

In former times no diplomas were awarded, and as pupils were admitted four times per year, and were not compelled to take any prescribed course of study, and could remain in school as long as they pleased, there was very little "class feeling," and some of the scholars who were most fond of study and books continued members of the school for six or seven years. These scholars were in some respect of great advantage to the school. Being confined to no prescribed course of study, having no fixed time for graduation, and feeling no anxiety about receiving a diploma, they were at liberty to devote their attention to general literature and belles-lettres accomplishments, and thus they were the highest ornaments of the school. On days of public exhibitions they were the scholars to grace the occasion. They produced excellent essays; they composed poems; they sustained a weekly paper; prepared dialogues in French, and in general gave tone and character to the public exercises of the school. But the awarding of diplomas, the annual admissions, and the formal graduating exercises in Huntington Hall, have now induced a decided *esprit de corps* and drawn a distinct line of demarcation between the four classes of the school. Scholars now no longer care to linger in the school after their classmates have departed. They do not feel at home. They wish to belong to no class but their own, and no other seems worth belonging to. They see no honor or pleasure in remaining among inferior scholars with whom they have no sympathy, and thus it comes to pass that the school no longer has that superior class of "old residents" of whom I have spoken above. The ambition of the

scholar now is to complete the prescribed course, to pass through all the dreaded written examinations without being "put back," and, having escaped every danger and being surrounded by the members of his own class, to receive at last his diploma at the hands of the mayor of the city. All extra work like sustaining a weekly paper, writing elaborate essays, composing poems, or anything else which does not directly aid him in gaining admission to college or in graduating honorably with his class, is deemed of little worth.

If, therefore, the High School now fails in any one thing more than another, it is in not sending forth better original writers and scholars of higher general culture. The classes of the school are large and numerous, and the time and energies of the teachers seem to be exhausted in hearing recitations, and those of the scholars in preparing for them. Far too little attention is devoted to general accomplishments. The system is a high pressure system, and allows too little time for anything not rigidly prescribed for completing this course. I believe that in earlier years the school furnished better original essays, better poems, better public exhibitions, than it can now furnish.

For these evils it is difficult to prescribe a remedy. The human mind possesses no greater capacity than in former years, and yet since my connection with the school the demands of colleges for admission are almost twice as great as before, and to the English course of study there have been added physiology, physical geography, analytical chemistry, civil government, English literature, German, geology, music, drawing, and military drill. The vacations are longer, the school is suspended on stormy days, and, in a word, there is much more to do and much less time for doing it. Hence comes the

pressure. But when we add to these difficulties that most discouraging one of all, so deeply felt by the teachers of the school, that a very large proportion of pupils admitted are unable to bear this pressure and satisfactorily to meet the demands made upon them, the community will not too severely complain of the want of general culture in the graduates of the High School.

But notwithstanding all these things, I would not go back to the former system, for I believe that system, or rather that want of system, tended to bring into prominence a few scholars of superior talents to the neglect of those of ordinary or inferior ability, who most need the teacher's help, while the present system affects all alike and sets before even the slowest intellects the common motives for effort, and the common hope of honor and success.

As the primitive condition of society is favorable to the development of individual examples of personal bravery and prowess, while an organized condition promotes the welfare and happiness of the masses, so in a school it is only under a well ordered system that pupils of ordinary ability, who constitute the great majority and who most need instruction, receive that benefit which the school is intended to afford. It is certainly neither just nor wise to devote the most attention to those who need the least.

I know of no way of improving the general tone of the High School except by requiring a higher standard of scholarship for admission, by giving smaller and fewer classes to each teacher, and by making more account of general culture and belles-lettres accomplishments in granting the honors of the school.

In closing to-day my reminiscences of the High

School, I propose briefly to touch upon several independent topics pertaining to the history and progress of the institution.

The awarding of diplomas, which commenced in 1858, has had the effect of inducing pupils, more generally than before, to remain in school until the prescribed course of study is completed, and to apply themselves with greater diligence and regularity to their studies in order to graduate with honor in the class to which they belong. An *esprit de corps* has been developed which affords a healthy stimulus, especially to that large class of pupils who, without some exterior motive, grow weary of study and falter by the way. Besides it adds to one's self-respect throughout life to be able to feel and to say, "I finished the course of study prescribed by public authority, and graduated honorably with a class whose members I shall always hold in especial love and honor." It is good for one to know who are his peers and where he belongs in the world. A diploma can do harm only to one who looks upon it as a certificate of release for life from any further mental effort.

The Carney medals, the generous gift of James G. Carney, Esq., well known as the first treasurer of the Lowell Institution for Savings, were first awarded in 1859. These medals affect mainly the better scholars of the school, who see some prospect of obtaining them. They tend to give to the school a class of pupils of the highest attainments as models for the rest. Such pupils give tone and character to the school and elevate the standard of deportment and scholarship by showing to their mates what is possible for them also to accomplish if they will but exert their powers. The importance of having such scholars in every school must not be lightly esteemed.

In former years catalogues containing a minute

report of the standing of each pupil, were published at the close of every term. To such catalogues there are serious objections. It is hardly just or kind to a faithful pupil, who finds it impossible to obtain a high rank, after the most patient labor, to publish to the community his mortifying failure. It seems harsh and cruel to the very pupils who most deserve our tenderness and sympathy. Such pupils form by no means a small class in every school. For several years past no such catalogues have been published, but in their place monthly reports are privately sent to parents, giving to them such facts in regard to their children as they ought to know. In this way the parent is often reminded of his duty to his child and to the school, and the slow but faithful pupil is not unjustly wounded by seeing the failures which he could not avoid, displayed before the whole community.

The great advance of modern times in scientific knowledge, the wonderful discoveries of the hidden forces of nature, and the adaptation of the powers of steam and electricity to the common wants of life, have justly demanded of our schools a largely increased amount of scientific study. To this demand our High School, like the other institutions of the country, has readily yielded. But when it is also demanded that when the sciences enter the ancient classics must depart, the friends of education hesitate to submit. As Paul and his compeers were the apostles of the Christian church, whose writings must never cease to claim the profound study of every Christian scholar, so the great Greek and Roman writers must be regarded as the apostles of human thought, who also claim the profound study of every scholar of every age. Nothing seems to me to be better calculated to sharpen the intellect, to strengthen the mental powers, and to refine the taste of

the student, than the translation of the great thoughts and beautiful conceptions of the master minds of Greece and Rome into pure and elegant language in his native tongue. It is the almost universal testimony of the professors of the German universities that students who come to them from classical schools are better fitted to pursue the natural sciences than those even who come from scientific schools, and this is attributed to the superior mental discipline afforded by classical study. The carpenter does not waste the time he spends in sharpening his tools, nor does the student lose by devoting his early years to those studies which best discipline his intellect and prepare him best to solve the problems of life.

On two subjects I shall content myself with simply expressing my candid doubts. First, I doubt the wisdom of dispensing with the public examinations at the close of the term, which for many years agreeably relieved the monotony of school life, affording to the pupils a healthy stimulus to appear to the highest advantage, and to parents and friends an excellent opportunity of knowing the teachers and learning their methods of instruction. Second, I doubt whether, at a time when excellent sidewalks, street cars, and india rubber suits make it almost as safe to health to be upon the streets on a rainy day as upon a fair day, it is wise to suspend the school sessions when it rains. All other people go to their work, why not the scholars? To say nothing of the cost of our schools, which is more than three hundred dollars for every half school day, the health of the pupils demands some exercise in the open air even on a rainy day. "Any air is better than no air," was the remark of a well-known Lowell physician on this subject.

The promotion of pupils from the grammar to the high school is beset with intrinsic difficulties, and has always been and will always be a subject of great perplexity. Socrates, in discoursing with his friends just before his death, made a nice discrimination between those things which we ought not, and those things which we ought, to pray to the gods about. If, for example, a man wishes to make a shoe he had better go and do it, and not trouble the gods about it; but if he wishes to marry a wife, he had better pray to the gods, for it is a matter of great hazard and doubt. So I say this question of promotion belongs to Socrates' second class. We need to pray to the gods about it. No plan can be devised to which there are not serious objections, and hence we have had constant changes and constant dissatisfaction. Too many seem to think that any plan with which any fault can be found, must of course be changed. This false logic involves perpetual and endless changes.

Since I began to write this article, the school board has adopted a mode of admission for the present year, and I do not therefore think it wise to discuss the question at the present time, especially as I have recently given my views in a public manner on this subject. The new method should have a candid reception and a fair trial.

One of the most delightful features of the history of a school is the devoted attachment which the graduates feel for one another and for their *alma mater*. This attachment has been abundantly shown by the graduates of the Lowell High School. In 1863 an association of the alumni was formed, and, at the close of the school year in July, a reunion of the graduates filled Huntington Hall. On this occasion Mr. A. B. Wright presided; an

oration was delivered by Rev. John Kelly of Paterson, N. J., a graduate of the school; chronicles were read by John F. McEvoy, Esq., an ode written by Professor J. H. McDaniels was sung; a speech was made by Bishop Clark of Rhode Island, the first principal of the school; and dancing prolonged the festivities until two o'clock in the morning. For seven years these reunions were held with great enthusiasm and eclat. Orations were delivered by Franklin Forbes, Esq., once principal of the school; Jonathan Kimball, Esq., once a popular teacher in the school; Rev. James O. Scripture, also a former teacher; Rev. Dr. William R. Huntington, from whose father the hall received its name; Rev. Francis Mansfield, once a pupil of the school; and Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, the second principal of the school. Chronicles were read by John F. McEvoy, Esq., Mayor E. F. Sherman, and James S. Russell, Esq.; and poems by Messrs. F. T. Greenhalge, Charles F. King, Geo. F. Stanton, Charles A. Chase and J. M. Fletcher. Many others took part in these interesting exercises. These reunions met with such favor that too many sought to participate in them, and such a promiscuous crowd, by one means or another, gained admission to the dances, that at length the class for whom these gatherings were originally intended withdrew and they were reluctantly given up. But the attachment to the school, which gave birth to these delightful reunions, still exists, and it gives me pleasure to meet it wherever I go. For my own part I am better pleased with smaller and more quiet and unpretentious gatherings of the members of single classes. These gatherings are certainly most delightful, and I have always felt greatly honored in being invited to participate in them. Few friendships are more lasting and pure than those formed in life's joyous prime, when

kindred pursuits and kindred hopes cement the love of youthful hearts. I take delight in the fond belief that I, too, have some share in these youthful affections, and that in the homes of the city my own name is sometimes kindly and tenderly mentioned.

*XII. Health of Lowell, by Nathan Allen, M. D.
Read November 13, 1884.*

While the phrase Old Residents' Association implies that its members must have long resided in the place, and, as by its by-laws, they cannot become members under forty-five years of age, the inference is they must be, as a body of men, considerably advanced in life. The objects of the Association are to gather up all the important facts relating to the history of the city, as well as of the life and character of its citizens. A very natural inquiry arises: What are the local agencies that have contributed to make these residents old? What has been and what is the health of the city? What are the natural or artificial advantages favorable to preserve health and prolong life? Such inquiries certainly cannot be foreign to the objects of this Association. If good health and long life are desirable or valuable to an individual, they are surely so to any community. What higher recommendation can a city have than that it is a healthy place for residence?

What, then, are the natural advantages of Lowell in a sanitary point of view? The three great natural conservators of health are a pure soil, pure water and pure air. In respect to these powerful sanitary agencies, the locality and immediate region where our city has been built up, was decidedly favorable to health. The soil, as a whole, was rather poor—being originally sandy and

gravelly—most of it dry. The lay of the land was quite uneven—hilly and undulating—not all a level plain, nor a valley, and not a large amount of land that had been made by natural agencies, or filled up by artificial means.

This unevenness in the surface of the land rendered it favorable for good drainage, so that the rains and melted snow would cleanse the ground; and then, when such lands became occupied by inhabitants, the chances of good sewerage are very favorable. As for pure water and pure air the locality of Lowell is far more favorable than that of most cities. It has no rich intervale lands with decaying vegetation, no swamps with stagnant water in its vicinity, nothing of a malarious character calculated to poison the air or pollute the water to the injury of health.

If in 1820 a sanitary engineer could have surveyed the topography of the region with its elevations and depressions, and with the two large streams of water running through the place, he would have said it contained, in an unusual degree, the conditions necessary for preserving health. The fact, that two large streams run through it furnished superior advantages for purity of soil, purity of water and purity of atmosphere. But these three great natural conservators of health were soon to be changed in their character by human habitation, and to become the fruitful sources of sickness, disease and death. From 1820 to 1825 the face of the place became greatly changed by the settlement of a large body of people. From the digging of canals and cellars and other exposures, Lowell, like all other new places, encountered at first much sickness. At that time Dr. John O. Green was the only physician in the place, and what is remarkable, after sixty years of medical

practice, he lives to see here considerably over one hundred "doctors" of all kinds, as the last directory shows. A parallel case to this, we believe, cannot be found in the country. By good rights Dr. Green should be the oracle to give a sketch of the past and present health of the city, rather than the writer.

In 1826 Lowell was incorporated as a town, and in 1836 a city. Its inhabitants were engaged almost wholly in manufacturing, which was at that time comparatively a new kind of business in this country, particularly on a large scale. Inquiries soon arose as to its effects upon health. Severe criticisms appeared in two Boston journals, charging that the health of operatives in the mills was seriously injured by change of employment and manner of living. In reply to these criticisms, Dr. Elisha Bartlett, by a careful review of the whole subject, proved that the charges were false and that the operatives were the healthiest portion of the population.

From 1825 to 1840 it is impossible to give any satisfactory report of the exact amount of sickness or what was the rate of mortality. During this period population was very changeable, and no correct or complete reports on vital statistics were preserved. From all the information we can obtain of individuals and from bills of mortality, it seems there was in some years a large amount of sickness, and in others it was quite healthy. Measles and scarlet fever prevailed at times extensively and proved very fatal; so did typhoid fever and dysentery.

In 1840 the manufacturing companies established their hospital, intended chiefly for the operatives, sick in boarding houses. From a report of Dr. Gilman Kimball, the superintendent, it seems that from 1840 to 1849 there were removed to the hospital 1627 patients, of which 816 were cases of typhoid fever, making an average of almost

one hundred each year. This shows that typhoid fever was much more prevalent at that time than of late years.

In 1846 an address was delivered before the Massachusetts Medical Society upon the Factory System in its hygienic relations, by Dr. J. O. Green, having particular reference to this city. In an appendix to this address are valuable tables showing the mortality in Lowell from 1830 to 1846, caused by different diseases. The whole number of deaths given for these sixteen years was 5006, of which the leading causes were consumption, 684; typhoid fever, 435; scarlet fever, 271; inflammation of lungs and chest, 398; of the brain, 124; dysentery, 114; cholera infantum, 312.

The whole number of deaths in Lowell from its origin is an interesting fact. At the semi-centennial of the city in 1876, Charles Cowley, Esq., chairman of a committee, reported 28,695 deaths up to January 1, 1876, and by adding the deaths to January 1, 1884, we have 38,320—being more than half the present population of the city. The two epidemics that caused the most alarm and mortality in our city were the Asiatic cholera in 1849, causing in forty-five days 78 deaths; and the other was the small-pox, in 1871, resulting in 172 deaths.

From 1840 to the present time we have reliable statistics by means of which the death rate of our city can be ascertained and tested. In 1840 commenced the registration reports of deaths throughout the state—one being published every year. I have over forty of these reports in my library, and from an examination of the returns from Lowell, I find a marked variation in years from 1840 to 1860—in some years a high rate and in others a low rate of mortality. Including these twenty years and making an average for the whole period, it is decidedly less than that between 1860 and 1880. Why

the mortality should be larger the last twenty years than the preceding twenty is a question on which there might be different explanations and also a difference of opinion.

The impression has generally prevailed here that Lowell was not a sickly place, and that we had no unusual mortality. The reports of the City Physician have frequently contained statements confirming this fact, and if there happened any year to be a large mortality, some explanation is given to account for it. The same may be said of the reports of the Board of Health. It is quite natural for persons making official reports to speak well of their own services—to say nothing displeasing to friends or prejudicial to the place of their residence.

In establishing certain facts or principles it becomes sometimes necessary to go outside of ourselves or away from the place of contest. In settling questions of health or mortality a comparison of one year with another may be sufficient for certain purposes. It is so with reference to the character and fatality of certain diseases at different seasons. But we are taught that this doctrine of comparison of ourselves with and among ourselves, is not a wise or a good thing.

It is better to take a point of observation away from the place, and consult the testimony or opinions of disinterested parties at a distance. The Registration Reports of Deaths furnish here just the facts and evidences we want. These are collected officially with great care, and treat all places just alike. Comparisons made upon this basis, where there can be no partiality nor distinctions, are reliable, and from which there can be no appeal. In this way only can questions, referring to the health or vital statistics of one place compared with another, be settled.

The Registration Reports of the State give the number of deaths in each city every year, and the census the

population once in ten years. The mortality is represented by one death to the thousand, and thus the death rate of one city or place is compared with another.

Name of Cities.	Death Rate, 1870.	Death Rate, 1880.	Average, 1870-80.
Newton.....	10.1	15.8	13.0
Haverhill	15.6	18.9	17.2
Somerville	17.6	17.1	17.3
Lynn	17.2	19.5	18.3
Chelsea.....	16.8	20.5	18.6
Springfield	18.5	19.0	18.7
Fitchburg	18.5	19.2	18.8
Taunton.....	19.8	18.5	19.1
Cambridge.....	20.4	18.1	19.2
Lawrence.....	17.2	21.7	19.4
New Bedford.....	17.8	21.9	19.8
Newburyport	18.2	22.4	20.3
Worcester.....	21.8	20.9	21.3
Salem.....	20.6	23.2	21.9
Lowell.....	23.2	22.1	22.6
Gloucester	23.2	23.2	23.2
Fall River	20.8	26.3	23.5
Boston	24.3	23.7	24.0
Holyoke.....	27.2	24.0	25.6

In 1870 the state had nineteen cities for each of which the death rate is given in this table for 1870 and 1880. As the census was taken for these years, there is no estimated population, and, therefore, the figures must be correct. The average death rate for these two periods is also here presented, so that we do not see how a fairer or more just comparison could be instituted in respect to the comparative mortality of those cities. It is true the death rate for one or two years would not be sufficient to determine the absolute health or unhealthiness of a place alone by itself. This would require a long series of years for trial, but our present object is

the comparative health or mortality of one place with another.

In carrying out this comparison to exactness, there are certain conditions affecting the population of the cities that must be taken into account. The occupation, age, habits, character and manner of living of the people have much to do with their health and rate of mortality. Also, whether people live very compactly or scattered in rural districts—whether they live and work most of the time in-doors or outside. In the nineteen cities reported in this table there are only four whose death rate is higher than that of Lowell—that is, taking the death rate as a test of health, fourteen cities stand ahead of our city. If we add the five new cities to the list, each having a low rate of mortality, it will make twenty-four cities in the state, of which Lowell stands the twentieth in point of health! This is not a question of opinion, but the rank is settled by facts and figures which cannot be disputed. We confess that it places our city upon a much lower scale of health than we expected when starting these inquiries. If it could have taken a higher stand it would have been far more gratifying. The only four cities ranking below Lowell on the score of health are Holyoke, Boston, Fall River and Gloucester.

There are some circumstances that may explain their high rate of mortality. Holyoke and Fall River are engaged exclusively in manufactures; their population, largely foreign and some portion greatly exposed and liable to much sickness. The locality of Holyoke and its surroundings would not be considered very favorable to health. Besides, it is comparatively a new city, which generally encounters more sickness.

The death rate of Boston within twenty years has been much reduced by its improved sewerage and clean-

liness. Besides, Boston has had for twelve years a most efficient board of health, and there has been a greatly increased interest upon sanitary matters. The mortality of Gloucester is increased from two sources: A large body of its inhabitants are engaged in fisheries which exposes them peculiarly to disease and accident, and the second source—the great exposure to lung disease from its situation on the sea-coast. Still its death rate is but a little higher than that of our own city.

On coming to the fifth city—Lowell—on the list, why should its death rate be so large? Why so much larger than Lawrence's? This city is only about half as old, is purely a manufacturing place and a larger proportion of its inhabitants is foreign; its natural advantages for health, we believe, are not so good as Lowell, but its death rate is only 19.4 in a thousand, while Lowell is 22.6 in a thousand. The difference in figures looks small, but not so when applied to human beings. If our death rate was the same as Lawrence's, the deaths in Lowell would be reduced annually one hundred and fifty-five persons! Is not that saving of the lives of one hundred and fifty-five persons worth considering?

Let us make another comparison. For illustration, we will take Lynn, being in this part of the state and having over forty thousand inhabitants—about the same size as Lawrence. The business here, principally, is shoe manufacturing, an occupation which has not been considered so healthful as some others. The location of the place is peculiarly exposed to east winds, and lung complaints—especially consumption—are very common. Most persons, looking at the situation of this city, its business and surroundings, would say it must be rather an unhealthy city. But not so. Its rate of mortality is only 18.3 in a thousand; that is 4.3 less than that of

Lowell, which in human life makes a surprising difference. If the mortality of Lowell could be reduced to the same rate, it would save one hundred and sixty-two lives, or prevent one hundred and sixty-two deaths every year! Why should health and life stand so much better chance in Lynn than in Lowell? Among the reasons that may be given we will mention one. For many years they have had a sanitary association in Lynn,—have had discussions and lectures on the subject of health,—have published papers and tracts; special pains have been taken to enlighten the people upon the subject, so that these means have undoubtedly prevented much sickness and mortality.

It is hard for some people to realize to what an extent sickness and death may be prevented by human agency. The doctrine that disease and death come by the ordering of Providence, and that human beings cannot escape them or have any controlling voice in them, has a most surprising hold at the present day on many people. That about one-quarter of all the sickness and mortality which afflicts mankind can be prevented, some persons can scarcely credit. But this has been done for years in Great Britain. It is no theory or experiment, but the fact has been repeatedly proved. We could name some of the places, describe the means employed, and state the amount of sickness and mortality that has been prevented in these places in England, but it seems unnecessary. What has been done in Great Britain can be done here. Sanitary science, with its untold advantages, is far more advanced there than in the United States. Let the same means be employed here that have been there, and we shall reap similar advantages. It is true these blessings will not come without thought, without labor and expense, but it will abundantly pay.

Health and life are too valuable to be thus sacrificed, especially on so large a scale.

The question still returns, Why should the rate of mortality here be so large? What are the causes that have produced it? These questions are not easily answered, certainly not very satisfactorily. It is possible some light may be thrown upon this subject by asking a few questions. What interest has the city, in its corporate capacity, ever manifested upon this subject? What has the city done directly to enlighten the people in respect to preventing sickness and mortality? It is true a great deal of money has been expended in cleaning the streets, in constructing sewers and in the introduction of river water, but, for some reason or other, these sanitary measures have not served to reduce the death rate so much as it would seem they ought.

In order to secure the full benefits of such advantages, it has been found necessary that the people be educated upon matters of health, that they understand how to use the proper means for preventing disease and sickness. It is found that health, after all, depends much upon the intelligence of a people on the subject. Hence, in England great pains have been taken to diffuse such information among all classes in the community. Take London as an illustration of the benefits of sanitary agencies. In all great cities, the world over, the rate of mortality is large and very large. London has over four and a half millions of people, and some parts of it are so situated and occupied by such material that one would suppose, that disease and death would produce such havoc as to destroy the inhabitants in a short time. Once epidemics and contagious diseases committed there terrible ravages, but for twenty or thirty years great pains have been taken to introduce into all parts of the city the best sanitary improvements. As a consequence

the amount of sickness and the number of deaths have been greatly reduced. It is now the healthiest large city in the world. The death rate of Lowell is considerably higher than that of London. If our mortality could be brought down to the same scale, more than one hundred persons would here be saved every year from a premature death. Health and life stand a better chance to-day in the great city of London than they do in Lowell, for the reason that sanitary means and agencies have not been employed here as in that city.

Great Britain is divided into over fifteen hundred districts and a sanitary inspector is appointed for each district, who comes directly in contact with the people. Then by circulars, reports, lectures, newspapers, etc., an enlightened public sentiment is created upon health matters. As an illustration in this country, the city of Providence appointed, some twenty years ago, Dr. E. M. Snow as superintendent of health; a man thoroughly posted in the laws of health and life, who, by counsel, circulars, reports, etc., guided the municipal authorities and the people in the use of the best sanitary improvements, so that Providence, for a long time, has been one of the healthiest cities in the country. It is not to be supposed that these changes were brought about wholly by one individual, in the present case or in other cases, but the public had a guide or standard-bearer. All great improvements or reforms are carried out only when public opinion becomes enlightened upon such matters, and demands that something shall be done.

Suppose our own city had appointed twenty years ago such a superintendent of health, or in 1871, when it was so terribly afflicted with small-pox, it had determined, like Boston, to improve its sanitary condition by the use of the best possible means, should we not have a much better death record than it now presents? If the proper

agencies could be brought to bear in improving the sanitary condition of the city, and enlightening our people upon the subject, there is no question but that more than one hundred deaths might be saved every year, as well as a great amount of sickness prevented, besides immense expense.

The average death rate of all the cities and towns in the state, as appears by official documents, is far below that of Lowell. If our death rate could be reduced to the average in the state, nearly one hundred and fifty lives would be saved every year. Taking all the cities in the state—24—Lowell ranks the lowest but four in the matter of health; and then, taking the average death rate for the whole state, our death rate, it seems, is much higher than the average of the state.

These facts and figures bearing upon the mortality of our city are not pleasant items for consideration, we are aware, and we should have been gratified with a more favorable report. The figures, however, cannot be disputed; they were collected and sworn to by agents in our own city, and are published in official documents. It may be said that since the census of 1880 was taken, the city is making a better record in its mortality, but the improvement is slight. The years 1882-3-4 have been remarkably healthy here as well as throughout the state.

But we have no guarantee of its continuance. Another year may present quite a change. Tenement houses are being built, so crowded together and situated in narrow courts and alleys, that they cannot be cleanly nor well-ventilated, and which are likely to prove, in time, hot-beds of disease. Then in certain quarters of the city poverty and intemperance are increasing—begetting disease and death. What will be their effect

upon the mortality record of the city? In 1883 the deaths—1437—were the largest they ever were.

Some may say they cannot credit the statements made in this paper—that the localities where they reside in the city are remarkably healthy, and they see no occasion for any sanitary improvement. But are the health and lives of those in our immediate neighborhood, if not upon the same streets and squares, though bound to us by the city limits, of no consequence? It may be that the germs of contagious disease or of some epidemic generated in a tenement block or filthy quarter, shall attack a member of our own household and thus increase the death rate of the city; shall we then insist that the unsanitary condition of some parts of the city does not concern us? What has happened once is likely to again. Is it not pleasant to feel that we live in a healthy place, and that friends and the public recognize the fact? More still, is it not pleasant to have the satisfaction, the consciousness, that we are doing something to improve the health, the comfort and the happiness of those around us.

If by the explosion of a steam boiler or the falling of a building a few lives are lost, or if perchance by some railroad accident or shipwreck, a large number are killed or drowned, how the news shocks the community! What lamentations are heard and what denunciations are pronounced upon all parties by whose carelessness or negligence it was done! But right here in our own city more than a hundred lives are lost every year that might be saved or prevented, and no expressions of surprise or regret are heard.

Perhaps pride and self-respect may have more influence than the claims of humanity. It is admitted that Lowell is the oldest and largest manufacturing city in New England. The industry, energy and enterprise

of her people are well known. Lowell as a city has always had a good name for its intelligence, its integrity, and fair dealing. There never has been a failure here on the part of any manufacturing company. It can be truly said that no operative here ever lost a cent for services rendered in the mills. As a city, Lowell has been remarkably free from riots and strikes. If we could add, nowhere else are the health and lives of the people so well appreciated or stand so good a chance, what higher interest, or greater commendation, or stronger attraction could possibly be presented to the public in favor of the reputation of our city?

XIII. Consecration of St. Anne's Church, March 16, 1825, by J. O. Green, M. D. Read November 13, 1884.

In the busiest centre of our populous city, enclosed by wide and noisy streets, overshadowed by venerable elms, with open lawns, separated from City Hall, railroad station, our largest mills and flowing canals, by few rods only, quietly and solemnly, in unmistakable character,—in stone, quarried from the banks of the Merrimack, with solid carpentry and timbering of marvellous skill and extraordinary dimensions, at the expiration of sixty years, stand St. Anne's Church, School, Chapel with the Carleton tower, and Rectory; hallowed by the dearest associations, especially by the life-long pastorate of its sainted rector; the first object which must unavoidably meet the eye of the stranger arriving, or the wanderer returning to his home. In the turmoil of business, in the hurry and anxiety of pressing engagements, in the joy of success or the sadness of disappointment and bereavement, its sight, inevitably and certainly, preaches its silent but impressive lesson. The founders and pioneers of Lowell believed in the worth and permanence of *religion* to the stability and safety of their investments and the prosperity and happiness of the new community.

The consecration of St. Anne's is memorable as the commemoration of a series of important acts coeval with the very earliest operations in what is now the city of Lowell, and doubtless of abiding influence upon its prosperity from that day till this.

An enterprising and wealthy corporation, the Merrimack, had selected this locality for the commencement of large and expensive works. With the most ample means, they were seeking the most profitable investments.

At the convention for revising the State Constitution, in 1820, an attempt had been made to abolish compulsory payments for the support of public worship, and it signally failed by a large majority.

Upon Chelmsford Neck, as it was called in 1824, the population had increased from 200 in 1822 (at the time the works began) to 1,000. The Merrimack Company were the owners of more than three-fourths of all the value, and of all the land and other taxable property within its limits, and were liable to be assessed for this property as for other purposes, so also for the support of public worship as within the limits of the First Parish of Chelmsford, whose meeting-house was four miles distant.

Here was rapidly gathering a numerous New England population, having left behind them their old homes and parochial and school associations. The *better class*, to whom every inducement to settle here was desirable, could not be expected to be willing to forego their lifelong privileges, even for high wages. If they did, how long could they retain their superiority in intelligence and morals? The highest prices were to be paid for the best talent and skill to be obtained; and if other inducements than pecuniary were necessary, they must be proffered to secure them. Busy minds and hard worked, amidst a crowd of pressing duties, in laying foundations for *mills*, and as it proved, for a populous city, began early to realize the necessity, to ponder and discern it, and then to act.

The Merrimack School House, as it was called, was built in 1824, has been often described, and is now standing, having been removed to Cabot Street.

In February, 1824, a law was passed, allowing justices of the peace to organize religious societies; and in one week after it received the signature of the Governor, viz: February 16, 1824, a warrant was issued by Cyrus Baldwin, Esq., calling the first meeting, application having been made by Kirk Boott, Allan Pollock, Ezra Worthen, N. Goodwin, George B. Pollock, Richard Hills, Abner Ball, Thomas Dodge, John Dummer, J. H. B. Ayer, Leonard Cushing, and Jonas Balcom. By this warrant, the Merrimack Religious Society (now St. Anne's) was legally established. The upper room in this new building was finished, and March, 6, 1824, the first public worship was held by Rev. Mr. Edson, the church service being duly performed by a crowded congregation.

The Directors had their reasons for making trial of this mode. Some of them were Churchmen. All of them were of somewhat extensive intelligence and observation, who knew well the character of the Church. The Agent and his family were Church people. How distinctly do I call to mind his loud and full response, almost alone!

The enterprise prospered. Everything went on with the freshness of new growth. Early in the spring, preparations were going on for the building of the church. Mr. Boott drew the plans and discussed them with his friends. His personal attention and taste are marked in every feature of the building, a *monument* with which his memory will ever be associated. May 20, 1824, the first stone was laid. The walls went up in the heat of a hot summer, and, though of small stones, yet the

quality and amount of the cement used and the faithfulness of workmanship were remarkable. It was done with a view to permanency, and few buildings, both in masonry and carpentry, were more thoroughly constructed. To this day the construction and timbering of the roof are inspected with great curiosity by our best builders. The Merrimack Religious Society was, for obvious reasons, organized under the general statute, and had no distinctive Church feature in its structure. But, in view of its approaching consecration, two wardens were elected February 17, 1825, viz: Allan Pollock and Warren Colburn. At the same meeting it was voted that a committee of three be appointed to draw up a paper to enable Rev. Theodore Edson to apply for Priest's orders, who, with the Wardens made the proper certificate. At this time there were but fifteen parishes in Massachusetts where now are one hundred.

After the Society had worshipped in the school house for the term of one year, and the church had been built, application was made, by the Agent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, to the Rt. Rev. Alexander V. Griswold, the Bishop of the Diocese, to consecrate the same to the worship of Almighty God, according to the canons, liturgy and discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. The Bishop signified his assent to the application of the Agent, and fixed Wednesday, the sixteenth day of March, 1825, as the day of the solemnities of consecration, on which day the Bishop, attended by the Agent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company and assisted in the consecration by Rev. Dr. Jarvis, of St. Paul's Church, Boston; Rev. John J. Gardiner, rector of Trinity Church, Boston; Rev. Asa Eaton, of Christ Church, Boston; Rev. Isaac Bayle, of St. Paul's Church, Dedham; Rev. Henry Ducachet, of St. Peter's Church,

Salem; Rev. Alfred Baury, of St. Mary's Church, Newton; was received by the Wardens at the entrance of the church, and the instruments of donation and the keys of the church were presented to the Bishop by said Agent, and laid upon the altar.

The services were in strict conformity to the Form of Consecration in the Prayer Book, a printed programme of which has been preserved and hangs in the vestry of the church. The sermon was by the Bishop, his text being 1 Cor. iv., verses 1 and 2 — "Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God. Moreover it is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful." The music was a very prominent feature in the consecration.

In the autumn of 1824 had been formed the Beethoven Music Society, as described in their constitution a "social compact for the purpose of improving themselves in the science of sacred music, and for the promotion of harmony in the duties which may be assigned as a musical society in the congregation which will worship in the *stone church*, now building in this place." It consisted of seventy-five gentlemen and fifty-three ladies. Its successive presidents were Joshua Swan, Edward Sherman and George Brownell. At the time of the consecration J. H. B. Ayer was president, Abner Ball instrumental master, and Edward Sherman chorister. For weeks before, they had employed a professional teacher from Boston, Deacon N. D. Gould, and by repeated rehearsals perfected themselves for the occasion. Of course they must have filled the gallery by more than one hundred persons. The instruments were a double bass, a violoncello, two clarinets and two violins.

The services were opened by an anthem, "I was glad when they said," and closed by Handel's Hallelujah Chorus. The services of consecration and ordination of

Rev. Mr. Edson and Rev. Mr. Cutler occupied four hours, commencing at 10 A. M. and ending at 2 P. M.

The day was cloudy and chilly; the church was crowded, many coming in from neighboring towns; the mills were stopped and business generally suspended for the day. The clergy were entertained by Mr. Boott and a collation was provided in the second story of the church tower for the Musical Society. At 4 o'clock P. M. there was an auction sale of pews, receiving some two hundred dollars in premiums for choice. In the evening there was a concert of sacred music in the church, got up by Deacon Gould, who sang, with much effect, a piece called "Jephthah's Daughter."

I append to this short history the following documents of *especial interest to old residents*.

1. A complete catalogue of the 278 gentlemen who became members of the Merrimack Religious Society.

2. A complete catalogue of the members — ladies and gentlemen — of the Beethoven Musical Society, 75 gentlemen, 53 ladies.

3. A copy of the Deed of Consecration of the Church, by the Bishop.

4. From Bishop Griswold's tenth report to the Diocesan Convention, Boston, September 28, 1825.

It would be very interesting could the names of the *survivors* who were present at the consecration be reported, but not easily done. I can only name your respected Vice-President, Jefferson Bancroft, J. G. Peabody and John O. Green.

APPENDIX.

Under this warrant the following persons joined the Merrimack Religious Society, numbering 278:

Kirk Boott,
Ezra Worthen,
Allan Pollock,
Nathaniel Goodwin,

George B. Pollock,
Richard Hills,
James M. King,
Joel Fox,

Charles Heathcote,
George F. Conant,
James Fox,
Dexter Richardson,

Francis Winch,	Stephen S. Straw,	Samuel B. King,
David Ferguson,	William Bacon,	Moses Quimby,
Edward Brown,	Levi Hutchinson,	Thomas Budlong,
Daniel Balch,	Samuel J. Brown,	Isaac Anthony,
Morton Puffer,	Moses Pettengill,	Wm. Morrison,
Abner Ball,	George W. Lawrence,	Wm. Proctor,
John Dummer,	Charles Green,	Fairfield White,
Seth B. Brown,	Thomas Clark,	Elias Durget,
Samuel S. Townsend,	Joseph Sweetser,	Thomas J. Greenwood,
Moses Morse, Jr.,	Amos Haynes,	Timothy Sherwin,
Daniel Townsend,	Henry Carleton,	Jonathan Smith,
David Hamblet,	Stephen Cushing,	David Kimball,
Jonathan Adams,	John Bright,	William Smith,
George B. Bradbury,	George Robertson,	John Barrett, Jr.,
James Howard,	Joseph P. Buswell,	Hiram Thompson,
Benjamin Gale,	Aaron Mansur,	Daniel Thompson,
Hiram Walcott,	Hazen Elliot,	Lewis Fiske,
Asa Adams,	Elisha Huntington,	John J. Fuller,
Thomas Dodge,	Matthias Parkhurst,	Nathaniel S. Foster, Jr.,
Jonas Balcom,	Sydney Brigham,	Samuel Fecham,
Richard Straw,	Ed. St. Loe Livermore, Jr.,	Cyril French,
Benajah Gerrish,	Joseph Kittredge,	George Conant,
Moody Thompson,	George Gillis,	Samuel Webster,
Philip Eaton,	Edward H. Edes,	Warren Wheeler,
Jonathan Gould,	Richard Emmett,	Nathaniel Parker,
James Ayer,	Joseph Merrill,	William Davidson,
Thomas Webster,	Perley Carr,	Moses Shattuck,
John Gerritt,	Daniel Farrington,	Abiel Abbott,
Joel Parkhurst, 2d,	Samuel Bassett,	Joseph Bridge,
Jonathan Burbank,	Weld Spalding,	James Derby,
Simeon C. Sargeant,	Amos Carleton,	Joshua Swan,
Samuel S. Churchill,	Asa Hill,	Phineas Pearson,
Thos. W. Churchill,	Benajah B. Gordon,	Daniel Moulton,
Thomas Morrison,	John Perkins,	James R. Barnes,
Henry Quimby,	Daniel Perren,	Dexter Adams,
Jeremiah Fitz,	Thomas Brownell,	Warren Cudworth,
Aaron M. Peasley,	Joseph Haynes,	Calvin Moulton,
Daniel Nichols,	Lucerne Roby,	Benjamin Moulton,
Nathan Robbins,	Ebenezer Richardson,	Alexander Smith,
Ebenezer Whittier,	Solon Stevens,	John Bickam,
Leonard Cushing,	Asa Johnson,	Wm. Mason,
Stephen W. Balcom,	William Carleton,	Philemon Brown,
Isaac Gould,	John Jewett,	William Roby,
Park Witt,	Thomas Dodge,	Rufus H. Fox,
Amasa Peabody,	Joshua Turner,	George W. Hovey,
James H. B. Ayer,	Isaiah Leighton,	James Russell,
Bradstreet Doe,	David Tilden,	Alpha Stevens,
Wm. W. Wyman,	Jeremiah Hildreth,	Walter Wright,
Wm. H. Pomeroy,	Artemas Young,	Asa Jones,
Enoch Bassett,	Joel Parkhurst,	Samuel Law,
Andrew Eaton,	Daniel Sanderson,	Warren Colburn,
Cushing Baker,	Daniel Parker,	Rufus Nichols,
John McGeer,	Peter Harris,	Ed. St. Loe Livermore,
Eliphalet Brown,	Jacob Hoyt,	Jonathan Tyler,
Albigece W. Fisher,	Stephen Gale,	Elisha Thompson,
Thomas Borden,	Nathan Davis,	David Nourse,
Samuel Bachelder,	Nathan Prescott,	Humphrey Webster,
William Rafter,	Elisha Bunce,	Cyril Coburn,
Richard Dalton,	James Bunce,	James Russell,
William Lamb,	Stephen Brown,	Cummings Barr,
Benjamin Parker,	Franklin Farrar,	John Pillsbury,

Joseph M. Dodge,
Joseph Merrill,
John Jewett,
John Rogers,
Jonathan C. Morrill,
Adams Morrill,
Nathaniel Morrill,
Charles Cook,
Henry Smith,
William Goodwin,
Alfred McAusten,
Jonathan Jaquith,
John Barrett, Jr.,
Charles Nichols,
Paul Hill,
Edward Sherman,
Paul Moody,
David J. Moody,
Daniel Blaisdell,
Thomas Moore,
Jonathan Kimball,
William Richardson,
Hiram Watson,
William King,
Hiram Nichols,
Daniel Kelly,
Nathan Oliver,
William S. Hawes,

Darius Melvin,
William W. Walker,
William D. Mason,
Samuel Power,
Nathaniel Currier,
Thomas Newell,
Marshall Moore,
Charles Rice,
John Campbell,
Moody Watson,
Ezekiel Webster,
Orlando Morrill,
John Philbrick,
Sewell Fiske,
Nehemiah S. Ramsey,
Luke Whitney,
William Brown,
William B. Fisher,
Samuel Brown,
Pardon Derby,
L. Mitchell,
Russell Robinson,
Asa Perrin,
Jefferson Wheeler,
Rufus Paul,
John Houghton,
Thomas Mayo,
Nathan Sibley,

Joseph Jones,
Elihu Gates,
James Chandler,
George Brownell,
Rufus Nichols,
Walter Chase,
Nathan Prescott,
William Proctor,
Alexander French,
Harvey Sprague,
John Chase,
Samuel Oliver,
John Newman,
Jackson W. Rice,
Grosvenor Buttrick,
Charles Hastings,
Albert Griswold,
John Chandler,
Stephen Webster,
Ephraim Andrews,
Ezekiel Morrill,
Loring French,
Peter Drown,
Richard W. Dwinell,
Joseph Brown,
Fairfield White,
William Hatch.

BEETHOVEN MUSICAL SOCIETY.—ORGANIZED SEPT. 15, 1824.

MEMBERS.

Edward Sherman.
Joshua Swan,
J. C. Merrill,
Cyril French,
D. J. Moody,
Abner Ball,
Thomas W. Churchill.
Daniel Balch,
Martin Puffer,
Elisha Huntington,
J. H. B. Ayer,
William Goodwin.
Leonard Cushing,
Horace Barber,
Benjamin P. Brown,
Erasmus E. Hatch,
Saul Hazelton,
Caleb M. Morrill,
Rhodolpha Kingsley,
Jefferson Wheeler,
Joseph Wyman,
William K. Mather,
Rufus Paul,
Thomas Newell,
Alpha Stevens,

John P. Spofford,
Amasa Kimball,
George B. Pollock,
Abiel Abbott,
Nathaniel Goodwin,
Nathan Oliver,
Amasa Winch,
James M. King,
Dexter Richardson,
Benjamin Simpson,
Philemon Bacon,
Andrew Pollock,
Allan Pollock,
Matthias Parkhurst,
Alpheus Smith,
Nathan Robbins,
J. V. Atkinson,
Grosvenor Buttrick,
Thomas McKee,
Henry Richardson,
Adams Morrill,
Ephraim Wood,
Luther Taggart,
Calvin Moulton,
Thomas S. Pearson,

Timothy Sherman,
Joseph Willoughby,
George R. King,
Jonathan Kimball,
Humphrey Webster, Jr.,
Timothy Kilburn,
John Nichols,
Samuel Pillsbury,
John E. Pillsbury,
Seth Wilkins,
George Brownell,
Peter Durant,
Warren Ware,
Amasa Keyes,
Richmond Jones,
Jonas Kendall,
William B. Smith,
Nathaniel Currier,
Jonathan Priest,
Eli Cooper,
Elijah Thompson,
Solon Stevens,
Jesse Phelps,
Joseph Bowers,
Oliver Barrett.

INVITED FEMALES.

Mary Parker,	Miriam Favor,	Charlotte Smith,
Mary Greenleaf,	Lucy B. Balcom,	Abigail W. Follansbee,
Betsy Reed,	Catharine Ansart,	Caroline Wright,
Harriet Reed,	Louisa Currier,	Cynthia Bicknell,
Almira Hayward,	Lucinda Balcom,	Mary Chandler,
Clarissa Nichols,	Eliza Fuller,	Louisa Wheeler,
Sally Blaisdell,	Elizabeth Burrill,	Abigail Dill,
Eliza Webber,	Sarah Lyon,	Adaline Stevens,
Martha Wellington,	Mary Morrill,	May E. Cross,
Almira Webber,	Nancy Puffer,	Charlotte Morrill,
Georgiana Balcom,	Hannah Martin,	Lucy Lovejoy,
Eliza Reed,	Deborah Skinner,	Harriet Russ,
Hannah Wells,	Mary Ann Russell,	Mary Bailey,
Susan Fuller,	Rebecca Hayward,	Levina Robinson,
Sybil Stevens,	Mary Ann Reed,	Lovey Balcom,
Harriet Barnes,	Catharine Lyon,	T. M. Riley,
Catharine Baker,	Elizabeth Barnes,	—— Ames.
Hepzibah Bridge,	Eliza Newell,	

Society dissolved Dec. 5, 1827.

DEED OF CONSECRATION.

WHEREAS, The Merrimack Manufacturing Company by their Agent, and with the consent of the Wardens of St. Anne's, have invited me to consecrate St. Anne's Church to the honor and worship of Almighty God,

I do, therefore, solemnly, and in the name of God, pronounce and declare that this House, called St. Anne's Church, is duly set apart and consecrated to Almighty God; and is not hereafter to be appropriated to any common or profane use, requiring that henceforth it be held as sacred to religious purposes; that it shall be entered with reverence, considering that God is in heaven and men upon earth; that in this place men shall humbly and devoutly confess their sins before God and set forth his most worthy praise; that the Sacraments and other religious rites be in this House regularly celebrated and performed, according to the institution of our Lord Jesus Christ and the practice of the Holy Apostles; that the Holy Scriptures shall be here read for the instruction of the people; and the word of God be duly and faithfully preached, according to his own appointment.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, this sixteenth day of March, in the Year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five.

(Signed)

ALEXANDER V. GRISWOLD.

[FROM BISHOP GRISWOLD'S TENTH REPORT TO THE DIOCESAN
CONVENTION, BOSTON, SEPT. 28, 1825.]

"In East Chelmsford is a large and beautiful village which has sprung up with astonishing rapidity, and in it the Merrimack Manufacturing Co., with liberality which does honor to themselves and to their country, have erected an elegant and very commodious church, and made bountiful provision for religious instruction and all the Gospel ministrations.

"On the sixteenth of March, 1825, the new edifice in Chelmsford, called St. Anne's Church, was dedicated to the honor and worship of Almighty God.

"The services were highly interesting and delightful, and were rendered more so by a numerous and very respectable congregation collected from various parts, and a large choir of singers whose excellent performance of several psalms and pieces of music added not only to the pleasure, but it is believed to the edification of the exercises.

"To one gentleman, especially, and his pious lady, we are, under God, much indebted, for the establishment of the Church in that place. May the Lord remember them for good!

"Rev. Mr. Edson is the minister of that church."

XIV. Rev. Amos Blanchard, D. D., by Dr. D. N. Patterson. Read February 6, 1885.

It is one of the objects of this Association to gather from various sources reminiscences of "the men who were here to participate in or witness the founding and early growth of our city." It is therefore fitting that among the collection of pen-portraits which for several years this Society has been gathering from the archives of our local history, there should be one of the earliest ministers of the Gospel in this city, that scholarly gentleman and faithful Christian pastor, Rev. Amos Blanchard, D. D.

I could have wished that the grateful though humble task of placing before you this evening a brief summary of the life and labors of this gifted man had devolved upon one better fitted to offer this tribute to his memory and worth. But, however imperfect this memorial may be, it will, at least, come from one who remembers him with "filial reverence" and respect.

Doubtless all of the members of this honored Society knew Dr. Blanchard, and many of you were among his parishioners and personal friends. To recall, on this occasion, the scenes of his labors in this city, one cannot resist the flood of memories

"Of youth and home and that sweet time,"

which are now gone, never to return again. Such retrospects cannot but give us a more abiding faith in those

men who shaped the destiny of our city, and to whom we of to-day, and those who shall come after us, owe so much.

Rev. Dr. Blanchard was the eldest son of Amos and Elizabeth (Jonkins) Blanchard, and was born in Andover, Mass., March 7, 1807. His parents were worthy, pious people, and their religious and home training was of such high and elevating character that the words used by an eminent divine on another occasion, may, with equal force and propriety be said of the subject of this sketch: "He was the son of an ancestry that inherited the promises of God; and he received as his birthright the accumulated moral tendencies that belong to a New England Puritan ancestry."

It was customary in those days for the youth of New England to receive their early education at home, or to be sent to school at an age which in these days it is thought best that they still remain in the nursery. The course adopted by the parents of Dr. Blanchard was no exception to the rule, for we learn that when he was but seven years of age he "left the primary school which he had been attending, and entered Phillips Academy, where he remained eight full years." Subsequently, in the autumn of 1822, when only fifteen years of age, he entered Yale College, where he graduated in 1826, one of the youngest, yet one of the most brilliant scholars of his class.

Doubtless his religious life had its birth in the formative influences of his Christian home, and from earliest boyhood he was subject to religious impressions, which resulted in his public profession of faith at the early age of fourteen, in the chapel connected with Phillips Academy, April 8, 1821.

During his academic and collegiate course, his career, both as regards his deportment and his mental

acquirements, is spoken of as of the highest order. It was here also that was "laid the foundation of that familiarity with Latin and Greek and that fondness for these tongues which he never afterwards lost, but retained fresh and vivid to the last."

His theological studies were pursued at the Divinity School at New Haven and at the Seminary at Andover, graduating at Yale Theological School, in 1829. It was his good fortune, while attending these institutions, to receive instruction under the direction of two of the ablest teachers and most distinguished theologians in the Congregational denomination of that period, Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor and Prof. M. Stuart. That his scholarship and mental discipline were of no ordinary character is evinced from the fact that only two years after his graduation he received a call to serve his Alma Mater as one of its instructors, which he accepted, performing his duties in that capacity with perfect satisfaction as long as he continued to fill that position.

The steps which led to his coming to Lowell may be briefly stated as follows: While serving as tutor in Yale College, in 1829, he received in June of that year a call to the then vacant pastorate of the First Congregational Church, in this city. Owing to a delay, caused by a reluctance on the part of the Board of Trustees of the College to accept his official resignation, no immediate answer was given, and the call was renewed by the church in September, and this time it was accepted.

His letter of acceptance was read to the congregation by the officiating clergyman, at the close of the afternoon service, Sunday, November 22, 1829. The opening sentences of the letter were marked by that modesty and depreciation of himself which were ever characteristic of his whole Christian ministry. Then

followed, in a few fitly chosen words, his views and purposes concerning his relations to them and the work which he was expected to do. "You are well aware," he said, "what system of truths I regard as composing the Gospel. These I shall endeavor to exhibit from Sabbath to Sabbath in their various forms of instruction, exhortation, encouragement and alarm, for the single purpose of winning souls to the Lord Jesus Christ," concluding with the declaration, "I will most cheerfully spend and be spent in your behalf."

Owing to the conditions of his health, he stipulated to omit a third service on the Sabbath, at his own discretion. Also, that he should be allowed six weeks' absence during the following summer, and perhaps in other years, he himself to provide for the supply of the pulpit at his own expense.

On the 24th of November, a committee consisting of Drs. Josiah Crosby, Jesse Fox and Deacon William Davidson was appointed to act with a committee from the society in calling a council to make necessary arrangements for the installation. December 12th, the usual letters missive were sent to the sister churches in this state and New Hampshire, inviting them to be represented by the pastor and one delegate at the installation, December 25th, at 10 o'clock A. M. December 24th, the council "met in the committee room in the brick church at 4 o'clock P. M." Rev. Dr. J. H. Church of Pelham, N. H., was chosen moderator, and Rev. S. C. Jackson of the West Church, Andover, was elected scribe.

Prayer having been offered by the moderator, the call extended by the church and society to Rev. Mr. Blanchard was then read, together with his reply, and after satisfying the council as to his Christian standing, and having presented his license to preach, "it was voted

that the proceedings of the parties and the credentials exhibited were regular." Then followed the examination of the candidate, "as to his theological views and attainments, his experimental acquaintance with religion and his motives in entering the pastoral office," at the close of which prayer was offered by Rev. Joseph Merrill of the First Congregational Church, Dracut, and the council went into private session, when it was unanimously voted that the examination was perfectly satisfactory.

The council then adjourned to meet the next day (December 25th) at 10.15 A. M. to attend the installation of Mr. Blanchard. Previous to the commencement of the services, a brief devotional meeting was held; prayers were offered by Rev. Mr. Jackson and Rev. D. Sanford of Newmarket, N. H.

At the appointed time the installation was held, a large audience being present. The following was the order of exercises :

1. Introductory Prayer Rev. Mr. Merrill.
2. Sermon Rev. Prof. M. Stuart, Andover.
3. Consecrating Prayer Rev. Jacob Coggin, Tewksbury.
4. Charge to the Pastor Rev. Dr. Church.
5. Right hand of fellowship . Rev. H. A. Winslow, Dover, N. H.
6. Address to Church and Society . Rev. Milton Badger, Andover.

Under these favorable and most auspicious circumstances, on the day which is celebrated as the advent of the Saviour's birth, Dr. Blanchard began what was then unknown to him, a life-long ministry in this city. At the time of his coming to Lowell he was but twenty-two years of age, and was therefore one of the youngest clergymen ever settled here.

How well he improved the opportunities which this then young and rapidly growing city afforded, is too

well known to you all to need repetition here. Dr. Taylor in referring to the condition of the First Church at this time, when Lowell was in its infancy, has aptly remarked that "there was given him the opportunity every year to attract new hearers in large numbers, who would soon go forth to carry his memory and his influence far and wide through the land." Abundant testimony has been given that this declaration was literally fulfilled.

For sixteen years he preached to the people of this church, and by his words of wisdom and love he sought to elevate and enlarge their Christian experience, and their devotion to the cause of Christ.

The unexpected growth of our city and the seeming need of a still larger provision for religious worship among the rapidly increasing population, was early recognized by the people of the First Congregational Church. As a result of these deliberations by the members of that Church, a meeting was held on Tuesday evening, April 22, 1845, and the following resolutions were adopted, viz.: "That we, the undersigned, members of the First Congregational Church, are strongly impressed with a conviction of the expediency of the formation of a fourth Congregational church in Lowell, and firmly believe that it ought to be executed speedily." The resolution was signed by James Buncher and thirty-three other men and by twenty-two women of the church. This was the first of a series of meetings which were held at frequent intervals during the succeeding few weeks, and which resulted in the organizing of the Fourth Congregational or what is known as the Kirk Street Church, of Lowell. At one of these meetings occurred "the election of a Pastor, twenty-six votes being cast, all of which were for the Rev. Amos Blanchard," his salary being fixed at \$1,000 per annum.

On the 21st of May, 1845, occurred the public services of the organization of the Fourth Congregational Church, and the installation of Rev. Amos Blanchard as its pastor. The services were held in the First Congregational Meeting-House, the following being the order of exercises: Reading of the Sacred Scriptures and introductory prayer, by Rev. Mr. Clark, of North Chelmsford; sermon, by the Rev. Silas Aiken, of Boston; receiving the public assent of the members of the new church to their confession of faith and creed, by Rev. J. L. Taylor, of Andover; right hand of fellowship to the church, by Rev. U. C. Burnap; constituting and installing prayer, by Rev. Joseph Merrill, of Dracut; charge to the Pastor, by Rev. S. C. Jackson, of Andover; right hand of fellowship to the Pastor, by Rev. S. W. Hanks; concluding prayer, by Rev. G. W. Adams, of Dracut. The new society commenced worship on the next Lord's Day, in Mechanics' Hall.

Rev. Dr. Taylor, in the funeral discourse preached by him on the occasion of the death of Dr. Blanchard, in referring to this change of pastorate, fittingly remarked: "When the first pastorate with all its rich fruits was exchanged for his second as your chosen leader, it was not a new work he took up, but a continuation of the old and an outgrowth from it. The vine which he was nourishing became, under God, like Joseph's, 'a fruitful bough by a well, whose branches run over the wall.'"

Concerning Dr. Blanchard's ministry in this city, which continued through a period of over forty years, it may be said of him that as a preacher he held high rank. He never entered his pulpit without careful preparation, and when he commenced to preach it was clearly evident that he had a message to deliver, the result of which he felt he would be held accountable

for at the last great day. There was an earnestness in his manner that even the most thoughtless and inattentive in the congregation could not mistake, and which soon made itself felt by all who heard him. Simplicity, genuineness and conviction were the charms of his utterance. He led men and won them to the truth which he preached, and his charity in the pulpit was one of his marked characteristics. Being a close and thorough student of history, science, literature and theology, it was always a pleasure to listen to him.

Rev. Dr. Barrows of New York, a long and intimate friend of Dr. Blanchard, thus speaks of him: "He had a marvelous command of language and facility in communicating his thoughts to others with clearness and precision. And this high gift he used, not to preach about the gospel, but to set forth the gospel itself, which he had thoroughly studied, and of which he had so large an experience in his own soul."

"In the lecture, prayer and conference meetings," one has remarked, "Dr. Blanchard exhibited those Christian graces and attainments which are only learned at the feet of the Great Teacher. No one ever possessed a more perfect idea of the fitness of things. In the freedom of thought and expression necessary at such times to give full development to individual peculiarities, there will appear occasionally slight incongruities. They amount to no impropriety, but as long as human nature remains as it is, a thought of want of symmetry will flit through the mind. But just at the right moment Dr. Blanchard would interpose a few fitly chosen words which would have the effect to blend all thoughts in harmony."

May 20, 1830, he married Miss Caroline Rogers Draper, of Dover, N. H. Mrs. Blanchard was permitted to share with her husband throughout his ministerial

career, the joys and sorrows of a pastor's life. For her thoughtful and loving interest in those who were his parishioners, she will ever be held with tenderest remembrance by the people of the Kirk Street Church.

But it was as a pastor that Dr. Blanchard specially endeared himself to his people, and in the varied duties of this relation, his memory will always be held in loving remembrance by those to whom he ministered. His social calls were always welcomed, nor did he ever show special favoritism, but each and every member of his church and congregation received at least one call from him every year. If there were any who received an occasional additional call, it was to some humble and obscure person, of whom the world knew not. He did not desire the praise of man, but he did enjoy with a calm and holy peace the smiles of heaven. He thought it not beneath his ministerial dignity to take a basket of food which his good wife had provided, and, just at dark, selecting the less frequented streets, to carry it to the home of the poor and unfortunate. Those of us who knew him know very well that a spiritual blessing shared each act in company with the temporal. It was his custom, also, to give all of the money which he received as marriage fees for various benevolent objects connected with his parish work.

Who that knew him will ever forget his kind and tender sympathy in the sick room, or at a funeral? His words were often few, but they were comforting, while his prayers made by the side of the sufferer or the mourner were such as could only be made by one who walked with God.

He believed in God who answers prayer, and it has been said that the greatest blessing of the Kirk Street Church has been and is, that it had a pastor who could

pray. It is related that after his return from his southern tour, which he took during the last year of his ministry, it was thought doubtful if he could stand the necessary strain of a full administration of pulpit labor, and one of his people remarked, "Let him come back and do the best he can. We shall be satisfied *if he only prays for us.*"

Nor was it by his own church people alone that he was held in such loving remembrance. The esteem with which Dr. Blanchard was held by his brethren and contemporaries in the ministry, has been so touchingly and so beautifully set forth by the Rev. Dr. Street, in a sermon preached in 1882, at the twenty-fifth anniversary of his own pastorate in Lowell, that his remarks on that occasion are here given in full.

Dr. Street spoke as follows: "In the Kirk Street Church their first pastor was in the prime of his usefulness and influence, the learned, courteous, dignified, fraternal Blanchard. A diligent student, an omnivorous reader, suffering nothing that was worthy of his attention to escape him; of tenacious memory, such that what the rest of us had lost from our remembrance we could almost certainly recover from his; keen, incisive, quick of apprehension, careful in the selection of words, yet ready of speech, fervent in spirit and thoroughly devoted to his work. He left the church below for the church above twelve years ago. Of that group of happy and mutually confiding pastors who gathered every Monday morning at No. 10 Kirk Street, to compare notes in regard to our work and strengthen one another, three are gone beyond the 'sowing and the reaping,' and only Jenkins and myself remain."

It was at his suggestion that the "united services" of the five Congregational churches in this city were

established. The idea alone shows very clearly the spirit of unity which he possessed.

It was his privilege as well as a source of great enjoyment to him to take part in the organization of several of the churches in this city; especially is this true of those of his own denomination. There probably is not one of the Congregational churches in this city but what Dr. Blanchard took some part, either in its dedicatory service or in the ordination and installation of their several pastors. Dr. Blanchard possessed a broad and catholic spirit, and on several occasions both he and the Rev. Dr. Miles have often been seen partaking of the sacrament administered by the venerable Rev. Dr. Edson, late Rector of St. Anne's Church. Like the old divine of whom we read, "He stood well God-ward and man-ward."

But the efforts of this excellent man were by no means confined to his pastoral charge and labors. He was interested in all matters which concerned the growth and prosperity of our city. In 1831, '32, '36, '38, '39, '40, '43 and '44, he served upon the School Board of this city. It is no disparagement to those who have served in that capacity during the latter years, when we say that the superior excellence which has been accredited to the public schools in this city is due in no small measure to the faithful and conscientious efforts of such men as Dr. Blanchard and those who were associated with him. Possessed of ripe scholarship and rare intellects themselves, they knew what the standard of scholarship in such schools should be, and they were ready to spare no time and labor on their part to make them second to none in the state.

In 1831 Dr. Blanchard delivered a most interesting lecture before the Lowell Lyceum, on "Smoky Chim-

neys." Again in 1850, he delivered a lecture before the same society, his subject being "The Medical Profession." This lecture is highly spoken of by those who heard it, and it is stated a copy was asked for publication, but as no such publication is remembered by our older citizens, and a careful search has failed to find one, it is supposed for some reason the request was not complied with.

The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Williams College, in 1852.

Dr. Blanchard visited Europe in 1847, and was absent several months. It is said that on his return, a hymn of welcome was composed to be sung the next Sunday morning. When Dr. Blanchard entered the pulpit, the congregation rose to sing, and although the hymn was for his special benefit, as was the custom in those days, the audience turned their backs to him and faced the choir.

On Sabbath Day, June 20, 1841, occurred the consecration of the Lowell Cemetery, the address on that occasion being delivered by Rev. Amos Blanchard. The exercises on that most interesting occasion took place at half-past four in the afternoon, and were witnessed by a large concourse of people, and were as follows :

1. Singing of a Hymn to the tune of Old China, which was conducted by Mr. J. C. Aiken, President of the Lowell Union Singing Society.
2. Prayer was offered by Rev. L. Porter.
3. Address by Rev. Amos. Blanchard.
4. Consecrating Prayer by Rev. H. A. Miles.
5. Hymn.
6. Benediction by the venerable Dr. Packard, "whose pastoral charge once included the domain of our city."

The press of that period, in speaking of the address, says : "Its appropriate extent of subjects, its richness of

thought and felicity of expression is seldom equalled on any public occasion."

Time will permit me to quote only a few of the many beautiful selections from that discourse, and which read as follows: "The occasion of our concourse is as touching as the scene is solemn. The living city has poured forth its thousands to lay, with appropriate solemnities, the foundations of a city of the dead. We are here to set apart a depository for our bodies, when our spirits shall have joined the great congregation of the dead, and, if found in Christ, the worship of the just made perfect. This day is an earnest of the sabbatism of rest which remains for the people of God, when these frames shall have crumbled, earth to earth and dust to dust. Many of you now tread the ground in which your mortal part shall slumber till these heavens be no more."

"A few years hence, and the multitude before me will have joined 'the immortal caravan that moves to the pale realms of shade,' and many of you will have taken your respective chambers in these halls of death. Their arched roofs will soon have filled these grounds, and our successors in yonder habitations and streets shall walk over them to muse and moralize. At short intervals, these paths shall be threaded by the sufferers under conjugal, parental and filial bereavement, as, with soundless tread, they go, like Mary, to the grave, to weep there. And among them shall be seen many a parent seeking out the grave of a beloved son or daughter, who, in all the buoyancy of youthful enterprise and hope, left the green hills of his nativity for a temporary sojourn in our city of strangers and was here called to sicken and to die."

After reviewing the funeral rites of different nations,

together with the sacred recollections which are associated with the consecrated resting-places of our New England villages, he proceeds by saying that, "To purposes of this kind we now solemnly set apart these grounds This enclosure will soon have been enriched with garnered dust of those whom we have honored, cherished and loved. Here amid natural susceptibilities of improvement, which time alone can fully develop, will shortly arise the urn, the shaft, the table, the mausoleum and the plain headstone, as so many monuments on the confines of both worlds presenting to us at once the end of life's inquietudes and the image of eternal rest. Here shall your tears bedew the turf over the grave of those dear to you as your own life, till a parallel mound shall arrest the passer-by as betokening your own." His prophetic words have been more than literally fulfilled.

While Dr. Blanchard never neglected home work for outside labors, yet so versatile were his gifts he could accomplish a large amount of additional service, at the same time not in any way sacrificing his chosen field. His services rendered to Andover Theological Seminary will ever place that institution under lasting and affectionate obligations to his memory. For twelve years he served on the board of trustees, and "not less than two solid weeks in each year, and often more of his precious time, was given to the duties of this trust." For over forty years he was a trustee of the Female Seminary at Andover, in the interests of which he felt a deep concern.

It was Dr. Blanchard's privilege to live through the active and trying scenes of our nation's peril, and while he never on any occasion so far forgot the sacredness of the pulpit as to allow it to be used for the promulgation

of political theories, yet he was not unmindful of his duty, nor did he neglect on proper occasions and at the right time, to aid in the cause of right by his exhortation and prayer that truth and justice might prevail.

In the summer of 1869, Dr. Blanchard asked his church and congregation for leave of absence, that he might obtain much-needed rest and relaxation from his arduous duties. The request was speedily and cheerfully granted, and Dr. Blanchard went south for the benefit of his health. In September he returned, and he again met his congregation in much improved health. Soon after his return he commenced a new series of exposition of Scriptures on Sabbath afternoons. These were given without notes, and were more like familiar talks than could have been done in the staid phraseology of a sermon. These services were well attended, and greatly enjoyed by the members of his congregation.

The amount of labor he performed during the last four months of his life is almost incredible. Yet the record, by his own hand, states that during that time he made four hundred and fifty pastoral visits among his people. From his daily diary, it is estimated that during the forty years of his ministry in this city, the number of sermons which he preached was not far from four thousand; he officiated at eight hundred and sixty-one funerals; solemnized eight hundred and seventy-eight marriages; received into his church fifteen hundred and sixty-six persons. Of this number seven hundred and thirty-four were by letter and eight hundred and thirty-two on profession.

But the end had come, all too soon, when no short respite from labor would suffice him, but he must lay down his work here on earth forever. The brief account of his last illness and death is soon told. Ten days be-

fore his decease Dr. Blanchard was attacked with a fainting spell, for which no apparent cause could be discovered, which soon passed off, and he was thought to be recovering and was expecting to resume his usual labors, when, on the evening of the 14th of January, 1870, after having passed a very pleasant evening in conversation with a few friends who had called in, and the perusal of a new book, he retired about ten o'clock. Shortly after retiring, Mrs. Blanchard was awakened by the restlessness of her husband, and noticed that he was breathing heavily. She immediately summoned a physician, but when he arrived Dr. Blanchard was dead. The immediate cause of his death was supposed to be disease of the heart. His age at the time of his death being sixty-two years.

“ Then with no throbs of fiery pain,
No cold gradations of decay,
Death broke at once the vital chain
And freed the soul the nearest way.”

Never before or since has the death of any public man in this city caused such a sudden pain to the hearts of the people of this community. But few outside of his parish and immediate friends knew that he was ill, and no one for a moment thought his sickness to be of a fatal nature. The announcement of his death was like an electric shock. It spread through the city and for many hours it could hardly be credited, and there still lingered the wish with many that it might prove to be, as so often happens, only a false rumor. But the afternoon papers dispelled that hope, and at the same time carried the first intelligence of his death to many households.

The next day was the Sabbath and the Kirk Street Church was opened for one service only. Rev. Mr.

Fisher, of Lawrence, conducted the services, standing upon the platform in front of the pulpit which had for so many years been so ably occupied by Dr. Blanchard. It was sad to look upon that empty pulpit and read, through the draperies which covered it, the inscription, "1829," "Thanks be unto God," "1870," which only one week previous had been placed there to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of his ministry. The church was draped with emblems of mourning.

The funeral of Dr. Blanchard occurred the following Thursday. On that day from ten o'clock in the morning till twelve at noon, the remains of the beloved pastor lay in state before the pulpit, when an opportunity was given for all who wished to look for the last time upon the face of him whom the whole city loved.

Thousands improved the opportunity thus afforded and even then hundreds could not gain admission to the church, so great was the crowd. In the afternoon occurred the obsequies, the house being packed until it became necessary for the safety of the galleries to close the doors. The exercises were participated in by the Congregational clergymen of this city, Prof. Smyth of Andover, Rev. Dr. Barrows of New York, and Rev. Dr. Lord, formerly president of Dartmouth College. After the services at the church his remains were conveyed to the cemetery which he helped to consecrate so long ago, and laid

" Beneath the low, green tent
Whose curtain never outward swings."

On the next Lord's Day Prof. John L. Taylor, D. D., preached a funeral discourse commemorative of Dr. Blanchard, in the Kirk Street Church, and it was again delivered in the afternoon, at Huntington Hall, by request, before the five Congregational churches. At both of these services a large audience was present.

Thus passed away one of the noblest, purest and most faithful Christian pastors.

“ He stood in his desk, that grave, good man,
With an eye still bright, though his cheek was wan,
And his silvered locks are backward rolled
From his noble brow of classic mould.
And his form, unbent by weight of years,
Somewhat of his youthful beauty wears.

He opened the page of the sacred Word;
Not a whisper, nor low nor loud, is heard;
Even folly assumes a serious look,
As he read the word of the Holy Book;
And the thoughtless and gay grew reverent there,
As he opened his lips in earnest prayer.

O, who can but honor that aged man,
As he neareth his three score years and ten?
Who hath made it the work of his life to bless
Our city in its woe and wickedness:
Guiding the many who are wont to stray
In the paths of sin, to the narrow way.”

XV. Samuel Batchelder, by Rev. W. R. Bagnall.

Among the men to whose ability and enterprise the early development of the industrial interests at East Chelmsford was due, an honorable position has been accorded most deservedly to the late Samuel Batchelder, of Cambridge, Mass. His career was remarkable for its success, and even more for its continuance of personal responsibility in business for more than seventy years, a period rarely, if ever, paralleled in the experience of any other manufacturer or merchant on either side of the Atlantic, and involving, during a large part of the time, labors and cares requiring for their adequate discharge, sound judgment, inflexible integrity, ability of a high order, large experience, and unremitting industry. He was born in Jaffrey, N. H., June 8, 1784. His father, also named Samuel Batchelder, was a native of Beverly, Mass., and had removed to Jaffrey about the close of the War of the Revolution. He did not, however, remain there long, but, when his son Samuel was a few weeks old, removed to New Ipswich, where he kept for many years a public house, which had the best reputation among the taverns on what was, at an early period, an important stage route from Boston to Keene, N. H. He also owned and managed a store in the miscellaneous trade usually transacted in such concerns in the rural villages of New England, and was the first postmaster of the town, the office being established there in 1800.

His son enjoyed the advantage of attendance for several terms at the New Ipswich Academy, an institution established in 1787 and incorporated in 1789, the second of its grade in order of time in the state (the Phillips Exeter Academy being older), and enjoying, in the early years of its history, an excellent reputation for the ability of its teachers and the thoroughness of its academic work. Having finished his course of studies, he entered the store of his father, and soon displayed such aptitude for business that when he was but sixteen years of age the responsibility of its management was largely devolved on him, both as to the sales in the store and to the selection and purchase of the stock, for which purpose he made several visits to Boston, riding often the whole distance on horseback.* In 1804, though he had not attained his majority, he commenced business on his own account, taking a store at Peterboro', N. H., where he remained two years, and then removed to Exeter, N. H., where he was engaged for about the same period in similar business. Here he became acquainted with Nathan Hale and Alexander H. Everett—each of the three friends wrote a poetical "Farewell to Exeter." Early in 1808 he returned to New Ipswich, transferring his business as a trader to that place, and purchased an interest in the second cotton mill there.

During these years of his youth and early manhood he continued the studious habits acquired in school and academy, and devoted much time to reading and composition, displaying a cultivated taste in the articles which, like several other young men of literary proclivity in New England, he contributed to the Boston Monthly

*Having learned that Dr. Jenner had communicated to Dr. Waterhouse, of Cambridge, his discovery of vaccination, Mr. Batchelder, on one of these trips to Boston, called on Dr. W. and was vaccinated,—having no belief in the popular prejudice that existed at that time against this new mode of treatment.

Anthology and the Portfolio, then published by Joseph Dennie at Philadelphia, literary periodicals after the style of the English periodicals conducted by Addison & Steele.

The partners of Mr. Batchelder in this new enterprise were Seth Nason and Jesse Holton, as appears from the petition to the Legislature of New Hampshire, in consequence of which an act was passed and approved December 9, 1808, "to encourage the manufacture of cotton yarns," and "granting an exemption for five years from taxes on buildings, materials, and stock employed in the business, not exceeding \$20,000."

The number of spindles in the two factories at the close of 1808 was somewhat less than one thousand, indeed "a day of small things." The amount and character of the business was indicated by the fact that in 1810 the average amount of cotton yarns made per week in the first mill was about three hundred pounds of No. 12, selling then for eighty-four cents per pound. The business of the second mill was similar in kind and amount. As in all the cotton mills of the country up to 1815, the work performed by power was limited to making yarns, which were sold to the residents of New Ipswich and the neighboring towns, to be woven into cloth on their hand-looms, or were given out to be woven on account of the owners of the mills at so much per yard or cut. The cotton, as taken from the bales, was picked by hand at the cost of four or five cents per pound, being delivered in bags of about one hundred pounds each, and carried sometimes for many miles, almost wholly on horseback, giving employment to many women and children at their homes. In 1812, Charles Hughes, an Englishman, built a picking machine, which was put into operation in the first or upper mill, and was

among the earliest experiments in this country in picking cotton by machinery.

Mr. Batchelder, from the very beginning of the operations of the mill in 1808, took an active interest in them. To this he was impelled by his general habit of thoroughness and of devoting himself personally to securing the success of whatever he had an interest in, or responsibility concerning, and by the special mechanical aptitude, which was one of his leading characteristics and a marked element of his later success as a manufacturer. This mechanical taste was manifested soon after he purchased his interest in the mill, in an invention to which he referred in a letter, under date of June 11, 1808, addressed, in a playful vein, to Nathan Hale, afterwards of the Boston Daily Advertiser, with whom he formed an intimate friendship when both were at Exeter, one as a young merchant, the other as teacher in Phillips Exeter Academy. The invention was a machine, which he described as "a certain instrument for the purpose of winding and forming those delicate little morsels of cotton thread usually styled 'cotton balls,' wherewith very genteel and comely young ladies do dexterously darn their stockings and make their ruffles." He had been anticipated in this invention by Mark I. Brunel, the celebrated English engineer of that period, his machine being used in the mills of Strutt.

Before 1812, while still actively devoted to his mercantile business, Mr. Batchelder had virtually assumed the management of the mill. In the winter of 1812, his store, which was of wood, took fire in the night and, with the entire stock of goods and his account books, was consumed. Insurance at that time, except in the principal cities and towns, was almost unknown, and the loss to Mr. Batchelder was complete, and to many men would have been ruinous, but his character for

integrity and capacity won for him credit when it was most needed, while his energy and enterprise soon placed him again in a position of successful trade. He rebuilt his store, which from its material was known as "the brick store," where he continued until his removal from the town at the beginning of 1825.

At the beginning of operations in 1808, the three partners arranged to divide the profits of the manufacture at short intervals, and after a short time changed this plan to that of a monthly division of the product of the mill, which then consisted only of cotton yarns, each selling his own share. The business of Mr. Batchelder giving him greater facilities than the others enjoyed for this purpose, he made a contract with them, about the beginning of 1812, for the whole product of the mill for three years. The restrictions on importations at that time created a demand for domestic fabrics. Almost every farm house in the country was then furnished with a loom, and most of the adult females were skilled weavers. Mr. Batchelder made contracts with many of them, in New Ipswich and the neighboring towns, to weave cloth for him, and had often in his employ a hundred weavers, some of whom came six or eight miles to receive the yarn and to return the woven cloth, the price for the work being from three to seven cents per yard, and for bed-ticking ten cents per yard. He thus had a considerable portion of the yarns, coming into his hands under his contract with his partners, woven into sheetings and shirtings in competition with the Slaters and others who had entered this new field of American manufacture; and with the independence and enterprise, always his characteristics and large elements of his success, added, before 1814, a variety of fancy cotton fabrics. In January, 1814, he advertised in a hand-bill that he had "constantly on sale a general assortment of

English Goods and Groceries; also American Cotton Goods, viz.: Cotton Yarn, Shirting, Sheeting, Check, Handkerchiefs, Bed-ticking, Dimity, Washington and Fancy Stripes, with a great variety of Gingham and Plaids, by Wholesale and Retail, on as good terms as at any factory in the State."

Among the persons who had an important relation to the business of Mr. Batchelder, especially to the manufacture of tickings and other fabrics in which either stripes or checks were produced by the use of yarns, a part of which were colored in the skein before weaving, was James Sanderson, a man of varied experience and much skill in different departments of the manufacture both of cotton and woollen goods. He had learned his trade, or trades, the branches in which he had been trained being quite distinct, in his native country, Scotland, whence he came to this country in 1794. Where he was employed prior to 1801 is not known. In that year he set up in New Ipswich a wool carding machine, operated by power, the first machine of the kind in the state. In the same year the first power-carding machine in Middlesex County, Mass., was set up, within the present limits of Lowell, by Moses Hale. Whether Sanderson's machine, like that of Moses Hale, was copied from the first machines set up in this country by the Schofields at Byfield, Mass., in 1794, or was made from Mr. Sanderson's own knowledge, obtained in Scotland, is not known. He soon developed a profitable business in carding rolls for the residents of the vicinity. To this business he soon added that of coloring yarns, cotton or woollen, in the skein, and indigo-blue, by the process then used in Great Britain, which was much superior to the ordinary process used in this country. The latter process, with its repeated dippings, occupied several days, and the yarns were usually streaked with different shades of

the color, while in the dye-house of Mr. Sanderson, yarns brought in the morning could receive a beautiful, uniform and permanent color, and be ready to be taken away at night. Mr. Sanderson's method of grinding the indigo was by placing a cannon ball and a quantity of indigo and water in a kettle suspended by a rope from the ceiling, and giving the kettle and its contents a rotary motion. The skill of Mr. Sanderson was of great advantage to Mr. Batchelder in the manufacture of the fancy fabrics which we have mentioned, and in which he had but little, if any, competition from American manufacturers while he remained in New Ipswich. In addition to the manufacture of these plain and fancy fabrics, he made, while at New Ipswich, the experiment of weaving, on the hand-loom, pillow cases without seam, in the manner adopted extensively many years later for weaving seamless grain bags, differing, however, in the fact that in Mr. Batchelder's method the bottom of the pillow case was closed by a change in the motion of the harness, effected by the hand, while in the seamless bag loom, patented by Charles Baldwin of Manchester, N. H., December 2, 1851, the same result is obtained automatically.

Mr. Batchelder devoted himself to his joint business as merchant and manufacturer for some ten years, renewing from time to time his contract for the entire product of the factory, which was still only a spinning mill. With Jesse Holton he purchased the interest of Seth Nason, each becoming, in this manner, the owner of one-half of the property. The share of Jesse Holton was purchased in 1818 by Eleazer Brown of New Ipswich.

The capacity and success of Mr. Batchelder during these years attracted the attention of the Boston merchants engaged in 1821 and afterwards in the new enterprise at East Chelmsford, Mass., especially of Nathan

Appleton, a native of New Ipswich, who, in his occasional visits to the home of his childhood, had had ample opportunity to inspect the operations of Mr. Batchelder. About the beginning of 1822 Messrs. Jackson, Appleton and Boott, in connection with their proposed enterprise at East Chelmsford, desired to send a person to England who should be competent to investigate intelligently the methods of manufacture in Great Britain, and to gain all possible information concerning improvements which might be introduced advantageously into the new mills. This mission they proposed to Mr. Batchelder, and in reply he wrote, under date of February 25, 1822:—"The subject you mentioned to me when I was in Boston was so entirely unthought of by me that I was not prepared to make up my mind upon it. On further consideration I feel a very strong inclination to go. It is not probable that I could arrange my business so as to leave sooner than June. If this should be in season for your purpose, and I could feel any reasonable confidence that I could transact the business to your satisfaction, I should be desirous to engage." Mr. Appleton replied, under date of March 2d:—"Should we conclude to send any person to England we shall want to do so immediately, and we are in daily expectation of getting information from there, which will determine us."

Nothing resulted from this correspondence, but early in the autumn of the next year, 1823, the first Merrimack Mill being then nearly ready to start up, the idea was suggested that the supply of water power from the Pawtucket Canal being much greater than the probable demands of the mills which had been projected, it might be desirable to arrange very soon for another group of mills. With this view, Nathan Appleton addressed a letter, under date of September 22, 1823, introducing Mr. Batchelder to Kirk Boott, and describing

him as "well calculated to take charge of a new establishment, should one be got up." Mr. Batchelder visited the works at East Chelmsford before the close of the month. Under date of December 23, 1823, Mr. Appleton wrote to Mr. Batchelder:—"There seems to be a pretty strong disposition to get up a new company at Chelmsford, provided we can conclude a satisfactory agreement as to water power and making the machinery. If you think favorably of taking charge of such a concern, I think you had better take a ride down here in the course of the next week, by which time I think we shall come to some point." In consequence of this intimation Mr. Batchelder afterwards went to Boston and was introduced to Patrick T. Jackson, the result of which interview was a request that he should arrange his business so that at a proper time he could take a position in connection with improvements then in progress or contemplated, at East Chelmsford. One reason for this arrangement was the fact that Mr. Worthen, the Superintendent of the Merrimack Mills, was affected by a disease such that he was liable to sudden death, and it was desirable to have some one in readiness to take his place. Mr. Jackson entered into an explanation of their operations and plans, and a remark made by him indicated anticipations which seemed to sagacious ones too great to be entertained by a cool, calculating business man. After stating that their purchases of real estate comprised about the same number of acres as were contained in the peninsula of Boston before it was extended by making new land, he said that if their plans should be as successful as they had reason to believe they would be, the population there would, in twenty years, be as large as that of Boston had been twenty years before. This prediction was fully realized.

Under date of February 7, 1824, Mr. Batchelder

wrote to Mr. Jackson inquiring if Mr. Moody would undertake to alter one of the Waltham looms to adapt it to the weaving of such goods as he had showed him, saying also, "I take the liberty to enclose some patterns of goods I have made, different from those you saw when I was in town. Nos. 1 and 2 are experiments, to imitate the imported derries, with warp doubled and twisted; No. 3 is woven in the same manner as the jean I showed you; and No. 4 is a pattern I have had made since my return, part twilled and part plain, in imitation of the English nankinette, which could be woven easily on your loom with the alteration I mentioned to you." Mr. Jackson replied February 16:—"Mr. Moody is so engaged that he thinks that he cannot make the alterations you mention in a loom. The most he can do is to let you have one made in our fashion. He says that you would understand better than he should how to alter it. If this will suit you, I suppose you can have one in two or three weeks. I cannot but believe that a manufactory for the articles you have sent me would be very successful, and I have no doubt that we could get up a company to take hold of it when you are disposed."

Under date of February 16, 1824, Mr. Batchelder received an application from Whitwell, Bond & Company to take charge of the mills of the Dover Manufacturing Company, at Dover, N. H. This company had been reorganized, June 17, 1823, from the Dover Cotton Factory, which was chartered December 15, 1812, and was again reorganized June 27, 1827, as the Coheco Manufacturing Company, under which style it has continued till the present time. To this application Mr. Batchelder replied, February 19:—"I should feel under obligation to give the first offer of my services to a company that have already made proposals to me. It can probably be ascertained in a few weeks whether I am at liberty to

make any other engagement." On the 21st of February he wrote to Mr. Jackson:—"When I was in Boston you requested me that, if I had any proposals from other factories, I would give you notice before making any contract. I have lately been applied to by the Dover Company. I am not particularly informed as to the nature of the agency they wish me to undertake, but the proposals may be such that it would be for my interest to engage with them if such a company as you mention should not be made up at Chelmsford. This would make it desirable that something conclusive should be done on the subject when I come into town, about the middle of March. I should be willing to engage with a company that should be formed with a view to commence building one year hence." It does not appear that, if he went at that time to Boston, any decision was then made, but it is probable that he received such assurance as induced him to await the movement of affairs at East Chelmsford.

On the 4th of July, 1824, having had an interview, at New Ipswich, with Nathan Appleton, he accompanied that gentleman to East Chelmsford and, the next day, to Boston, where the subject was presented of his immediately taking the place of Ezra Worthen, who had died June 18, but as he could not arrange his business at New Ipswich soon enough, and as Mr. Moody was familiar with all the proposed operations in the Merrimack Mills, it was decided that he should at once remove from Waltham to East Chelmsford and take the superintendency of the mill there, and that Mr. Batchelder should arrange to close up his business at New Ipswich with the view of commencing the manufacture of twilled and fancy cotton fabrics at East Chelmsford. Under date of September 25, 1824, he addressed a letter to William Appleton. Extracts from this letter, with the subsequent

organization of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company are given, and the relation which Mr. Batchelder sustained to its organization, management, and development till March 1, 1831, is fully detailed in our record of that company.

The more than twenty years since Mr. Batchelder engaged in business on his own account, had been marked by responsibilities and labors, of a personal and private character, which would seem sufficient to have taxed, to the utmost, the energies of any one man. His public spirit, however, inclined him to accept the official work, which the appreciation of his fellow townsmen would place on him. In this way much of the public business of the town came into his hands, in his service as Selectman, Town Clerk, Representative to the State Legislature, Trustee and Treasurer of the Academy, and Postmaster. The latter office he held under a Democratic administration, though he was a pronounced Federalist. Offices, however, were not then spoils of partisan victory, and, if they had been, the emoluments of Mr. Batchelder, as Postmaster, were not sufficient to induce a very active effort to supplant him. As a member of the Legislature, he was useful and prominent. His influence in his own party was indicated in 1812, when party spirit ran high. Members of the National House of Representatives for New Hampshire were then chosen on a general ticket, so that all the representatives from the state would be of one party or the other. In the 12th Congress, 1811-'13, they were all Democrats. In the election of 1812, for the 13th Congress, 1813-'15, it was believed by the Federalists that, by the nomination of a strong ticket, they could carry the election. It was proposed, at first, to put at the head of the ticket, Judge Timothy Farrar, who was universally popular, and, though a Federalist, had never been an active partisan. In a con-

sultation of the members of the Legislature, in which Mr. Batchelder took an active part, it was suggested that it would be well to bring forward, and to place at the head of the ticket, the young lawyer, whose brilliant success at the bar had already attracted the attention of the public even beyond the bounds of his native state, and who was destined to take the foremost position among American statesmen, of his own, or, indeed, of any period, Daniel Webster. With this view Mr. Batchelder was appointed, with Judge Jeremiah Smith and Ezekiel Webster, the committee to secure the assent of Judge Farrar, that he should be superseded in the nomination. This was easily obtained as he had been reluctant to accept the nomination at all, and, at a convention held at Brentwood, N. H., in August, 1812, at which the celebrated Rockingham Resolutions, one of the most important American State papers of the period, the authorship of which was attributed to Daniel Webster, were adopted, Mr. Webster was nominated, and, with the other candidates, was elected.

The power-loom, before spoken of, to be built by Paul Moody, was finished and sent to New Ipswich before September, 1824, as, under date of the 24th of that month, Mr. Batchelder wrote to Mr. Jackson:—"I have just got one of the Waltham looms in operation for weaving the bed-tick twill, and find it works perfectly well. An alteration on the same principle will fit it for weaving jean and dimity." Power-looms, or, as they were then called, "water-looms," for making sheetings, similar in quality to the fabrics which had been made on power-looms since the beginning of 1815, by the Boston Manufacturing Company, at Waltham, Mass., had been in operation since 1821, in a mill in New Ipswich, owned by the "New Ipswich Water Loom Factory," a company incorporated in 1820, of which Samuel Appleton, Benja-

min Champney, and Silas Bullard, of Boston, and Charles Barrett, of New Ipswich, were the principal stockholders.

The success of the experiment of making a variety of fancy cotton fabrics in a power-loom encouraged Messrs. Batchelder and Brown to enlarge the capacity of their establishment at New Ipswich. To their old mill, which was of wood, they added, late in 1824, a mill of granite, to accommodate power-looms for making the fabrics just named. At the beginning of 1825, Mr. Batchelder, having become identified with the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, closed his mercantile business at New Ipswich, selling his store. The management of the mill, after his removal, devolved on his partner, but was not such as to satisfy him, and he was disposed to sell also his interest in it. A serious obstacle to his doing so, caused a delay for some three years. A suit had been commenced, in 1823, by Charles Barrett, Jr., and the other proprietors of the first mill in New Ipswich, against Batchelder and Brown for an alleged infringement of their rights. This suit, on account of the importance of the questions involved, the length of time that passed before its decision, and the ability of the counsel on both sides, was one of the *causæ celebres* of the period in New England. This case having been decided Mr. Batchelder was disposed to sell his share of the property, but, about that time the depression in manufacturing industries, which culminated in the financial crisis of 1829, made it difficult to realize, by sale, what he considered to be the value of the property, and he deferred selling till 1831, in which year he sold his half interest to his partner, Eleazer Brown, for \$12,000.

While the arrangements were in progress, in the fall of 1824, for the organization of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, the suggestion was again made to Mr. Batchelder that he should make a voyage across the

Atlantic to inspect the mills of Great Britain, Nathan Appleton writing to him under date of October 9th, and making the following inquiry: "Could you arrange your affairs to go out to England this autumn and return in the spring? I have thought you might probably get a good deal of useful information by doing so, and it is worth thinking of." Under date of October 15th, Mr. Batchelder replied: "As to the voyage you propose, it would be difficult for me to be in readiness to go before it would be time to commence operations at Chelmsford." Under date of December 24, 1824, William Appleton wrote, renewing the suggestion of his cousin Nathan: "There appear many reasons why you should go to England the next spring, for the purpose of getting information relative to the making of cotton twilled goods, and I believe that your services could never be so well dispensed with as in the ensuing summer. The Merrimack Company are willing to pay a part of the expense attending the voyage." Mr. Batchelder replied, December 28th: "As to the voyage, I think it would not be convenient for me to leave so early next spring. I should think next fall or winter would, on some accounts, be a more favorable time. I should then be better prepared with a knowledge of the business in this country, and could more readily understand anything there may be to be learned there."

Mr. Batchelder removed to East Chelmsford in January, 1825. During the next summer, which was very hot, the first mill and about twenty buildings for boarding-houses and tenements, were erected. This involved so much labor and exposure to miasma from the canal (from which the water had been drawn off), on the part of Mr. Batchelder, that, in the following November, he was taken sick with typhus fever, from which he did not

recover so as to be able to ride out, till March, 1826. At that time the machinery in mill No. 1 of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company was being started up and his constant supervision was necessary. This fact, with his previous sickness, prevented the carrying out of the plan for a voyage to England, and it was never made.

During his residence at East Chelmsford and Lowell, Mr. Batchelder took a lively interest in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the rapidly growing community. Their appreciation of this interest was manifested, when the charter of the new town of Lowell was granted, by his election as one of its first Board of Selectmen, his associates being Oliver M. Whipple and Nathaniel Wright.

The record of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company till the spring of 1829, was one of remarkable success, and satisfactory in the highest degree to its stockholders. At that time it was decided that it would be for the interest of the company that the Treasurer, as had been the case from the beginning in the Merrimack Company, should reside at Lowell; and with this view, Eben Appleton was elected, April 6, 1829, Treasurer, vice William Appleton, who had been the Treasurer from the organization of the company. Very soon after his removal to Lowell and establishing himself in the office of the company there, Mr. Appleton assumed the position that all the operatives should be responsible directly to him. This was a change in the status of the mills which, in the estimation of Mr. Batchelder, not only was contrary to the conditions under which he accepted the agency, but would make a double accountability and responsibility, which would be subversive of wholesome discipline, or deprive him of authority, for which his long experience as a manufacturer had made him much more competent than the new Treasurer could

be, and which he deemed essential to an adequate discharge of his own duties. As the Directors acquiesced in the views of the Treasurer, Mr. Batchelder was disposed to at once resign his position. The textile industries of the country, however, were then generally much depressed, and it was an unfavorable time either to dispose of his stock, as he preferred to do if he should leave Lowell, or to seek employment elsewhere. He decided, therefore, to remain, serving the company as best he could under the circumstances, until the revival of confidence among capitalists, and their disposition to make new investments in manufactures, should make it feasible for him to engage in a new enterprise. At the beginning of 1831, he decided that the time had come, and, on the 31st of January of that year he tendered his resignation, to take effect March 1, 1831. Earnest efforts were made, by correspondence and interview, by Mr. Jackson and the other Directors of the company, to induce him to change his decision, but to no avail. He at once received offers from prominent capitalists, and a contract was made with Messrs. Cartwright, Fales, Cutler, Bradbury and others, who had purchased the property of the "Saco Manufacturing Company," to go to Saco and establish new mills there. The York Manufacturing Company was organized April 22, 1831. While serving the York Manufacturing Company as its Agent, he was concerned with other gentlemen in the organization of the Saco Water Power Company, the Laconia Company, chartered February 19, 1841, and of the Pepperell Manufacturing Company, chartered February 16, 1844, the mills of these companies being in Biddeford, Me., on the opposite side of the Saco River from the town of Saco. Much time and careful investigation in relation to the titles to the mill-sites was required. The saw-mills were

held in twenty-four shares, implying the right of the owner of each share to use a mill one hour per day; the result being that, in the division of estates, there were, often, parties who owned merely the right to minutes and seconds. On one occasion it became necessary to give a legal notice to an occupant of a small house on the premises. The tenant rushed at Mr. Batchelder, brandishing an axe; but, on sight of the man who went as a witness, he found that he was in the minority, and no harm was done.

In June, 1846, being then sixty-two years of age, two years beyond the period which, some years previously, he had determined should be the limit of his active service as a manufacturer, he resigned the Agency of the York Manufacturing Company. He was induced to remain during this added period by the earnest solicitations of the Directors, who appreciated fully the capacity and fidelity which had made the record of their company one of the most remarkable for success in the industrial history of the country. With reference to a retirement from business and a pleasant, permanent location for his family in the vicinity of Boston, he had purchased, in 1841, a fine estate in Cambridge, Mass., and his family had taken up their residence there in the summer of 1842, while he, personally, remained at Saco, with occasional visits to his family, till the close of his agency. From that time he resided at Cambridge, about thirty-three years, a period much beyond what could have been anticipated by himself or his friends.

The temperament of Mr. Batchelder was such that he could not be happy in leisure, much less in idleness, and in the year of his leaving Saco, on the organization of the new municipal government of Cambridge, under its charter as a city, which was granted in 1846, he yielded

to the solicitations of his fellow-citizens, accepting a nomination as one of the Aldermen, and was elected. In 1847 he served the city as one of its Representatives to the Legislature of Massachusetts.

In 1847, he was solicited to take the office of Treasurer of the Portsmouth Steam Mills, and accepted an election. This company had been organized expressly for the manufacture of fine lawns, from yarns numbering from numbers 70 to 90, a fabric finer than had ever been made in this country from cotton. The estimate for the cost of buildings and machinery, and the other expenses of starting, had been too low, so that the capital subscribed had proved insufficient, and the number of shares had been doubled, an inducement to subscribe being the placing of the new shares, at twenty-five dollars per share, on a par with the old shares which were sold at one hundred. The business having been conducted some years without any dividend, the stockholders had become discouraged. At this crisis in the affairs of the company, Mr. Batchelder was induced to assume the executive charge as Treasurer. The Profit and Loss Account showed a balance against the company of \$50,000. It required a year to pay off this deficiency and to put the affairs of the company into shape. From that time, for some five or six years, the profits were such that reasonable dividends were declared. In 1855 he resigned the office.

In the ten years subsequent to the retirement of Mr. Batchelder from the Agency of the York Manufacturing Company, its business had been so far unsuccessful that seven semi-annual dividends had been passed, there was a deficiency of \$39,000, and the stock had fallen from \$1200 to \$600 per share, the par value being \$1000. Under these circumstances, it was proposed

that Mr. Batchelder should again assume an active relation to the management. He was elected Treasurer and at once entered on the duties of the office. During the next ten years, the deficiency having first been paid off, dividends to the amount of two hundred and eleven per cent. were declared, and a large surplus of undivided profits was accumulated.

His connection with the management of the Exeter Manufacturing Company lasted about seventeen years, from 1855 to 1872. There had been no dividend for several years, and he had suggested to James Johnson, the venerable commission merchant of Boston and the largest stockholder in the company, that, for profitable operations, a reorganization of the machinery and the power was necessary. Many of the stockholders, residing in Portsmouth, had become discouraged, and offered their shares to Mr. Batchelder at so low a price that he was induced to buy them to the number of thirty shares. He was elected President, and, though that office in manufacturing corporations is usually "rather ornamental than useful," he was induced to take largely the responsibility of the management. The result was that, charging his personal account with interest on the investment from year to year, crediting it with the dividends, and adding the increase of the price of the shares, when he sold them, above their cost, his profit amounted to more than \$18,000. He retired from the office in 1872.

In 1859 the Lawrence Machine Shop was sold at auction, and Mr. Batchelder was induced by General James Dana, the purchaser, to secure the organization of a company to manufacture cotton goods. The corporation was chartered as the "Everett Mills," February 2, 1860. James Dana, Samuel Batchelder, and Charles W.

Cartwright were named as incorporators, and Mr. Batchelder was appointed Treasurer. The mills went into operation the next year. During the ensuing five years the history of the company was one of remarkable success. In four years, dividends of fifty-five per cent. were declared and surplus profits of \$300,000, or thirty-seven and one-half per cent. on the capital, were funded. In 1866 the stock was sold at more than eighty per cent. premium. In January, 1870, Mr. Batchelder resigned the office of Treasurer of the corporation, which he had held since the organization.

At the meeting of the Directors of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, at Lowell, July 1, 1864, Mr. Batchelder was elected President, and held the office by successive reëlections until July 6, 1870, when he declined a reëlection. He held the office of Treasurer of the same company from November 19, 1869, to January 18, 1870. At a special meeting of the Appleton Company, of Lowell, held October 26, 1869, he was elected President, and served till January 4, 1871. He was President of the Essex Company, of Lawrence, from May 28, 1867, to May, 1870, when he declined a reëlection.

In the summer of 1870, having attained the age of eighty-six years, he once more decided to lay aside wholly the cares of business and to resign all official position. He was then President of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, the Appleton Company, the Essex Company, the Everett Mills, the York Manufacturing Company, and the Exeter Manufacturing Company, having an aggregate capital of about five millions of dollars. As the annual meetings of these companies successively occurred, he declined reëlection, receiving from all of them resolutions indicating the highest respect and appreciation of his "long and distinguished services."

It has been stated that, in addition to Mr. Batchelder's superior executive abilities and his varied talents, adapted to a successful administration of every department of the business of a manufacturing corporation, he possessed a large share of the inventive ability often manifested by persons quite deficient in business capacity. An instance of this, which occurred in the first year of his active connection with the cotton manufacture, has been referred to. It may be proper here to refer to others of greater importance and of much wider application. The earliest, invented and first brought into use at Saco, in 1832, was the stop-motion on the drawing-frame. Before this invention, the slender fleeces of cotton from the card, not having received any twist, to give them strength, and having hardly sufficient tenacity to support their own weight in operations of the drawing-frame, where four or more strands were combined in one, required constant watching lest, by breaking or other cause, there should be a deficiency in one of the strands, and it was impossible, with the greatest care, to prevent many accidental imperfections. This improvement saved much loss of time in stopping the machine to prevent the mistakes, and the speed could be increased with safety. The invention was really of much greater importance than Mr. Batchelder had thought, and he neglected to obtain a patent for it in the United States, which would, without question, have been a source of large emolument. Professor Daniel Treadwell, of Harvard University, took an interest in the invention and, when on a visit to Great Britain, made an arrangement with John Houldsworth, of Glasgow, by whom it was patented, December 9, 1835. Mr. Batchelder received some profit from it, and for many years no drawing-frames were built either in the United States or in Great

Britain without embracing the principle of this invention.

His next invention, patented June 22, 1832, was for the substitution of steam-cylinders for the wooden rolls, previously used on dressing machines. When this patent was taken out, the workmanship in all shops, where steam apparatus was made, was too defective to bring out the results anticipated by Mr. Batchelder. This continued during the term of the patent, but, after its expiration, greater perfection of workmanship being secured, the best results were realized, and the steam cylinders came into general use.

The other important invention, and that, in connection with which his name has been perhaps even more notably connected, was that of the Dynamometer or Force-measurer, also invented while he was a resident of Saco, about 1837, and exhibited at the Fair of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association in Boston, in 1839, where it received a medal. It was a machine for weighing the power of machines driven by belts, and affording a better means for ascertaining the power needed to drive machinery, either by water or steam, than any instrument which had been used for the purpose. Notices, presenting the highest testimony to its value, were inserted in the various American and European mechanical and scientific periodicals and other publications, among which were the *North American Review* for January, 1850, *Dingler's Polytechnic Journal*, *Montgomery's Cotton Manufacture of the United States*, *Weisbach's Mechanics and Engineering*, Vol. 2, and the *Scientific American*, August 31, 1878.

Having retired from active business, as stated, when eighty-six years of age, Mr. Batchelder continued in the enjoyment of health, and of his physical and mental

faculties, in a remarkable degree. His death occurred February 5, 1879. Free from any particular disease, he simply ceased to live, having reached the age of nearly ninety-five years.

Among the many appreciative tributes to his character and career, the following, from the Boston Daily Advertiser, will suffice:

“We record to-day the close of a life as remarkable for its usefulness as for its length. Mr. Samuel Batchelder was one of the pioneers in the cotton manufacturing business in New England, and was prominently connected with it, in one or more branches, with scarcely any interruption from the year 1808, when he was twenty-four years of age, until 1870, when he had already attained the venerable age of eighty-six years,—a period of sixty-two years. During this long term he enjoyed without dispute the reputation of being one of the most sagacious and successful managers in the country, and his connection with various enterprises was one of almost unvarying profit.

“What is specially noteworthy in the life of Mr. Batchelder is the fact that from the start he was a man of science and invention. He sought the aid of books. He made himself acquainted not only with machinery, but he also mastered its principles and forces, and added from time to time improvements of his own, some of which he patented, but most of which he contributed voluntarily to the art he had espoused. He not only kept pace with the markets in supplying the fabrics of the day, but made himself acquainted with the wants of our own and foreign markets, so that many styles of goods which he designed became staple articles of export to Hayti, Brazil and even India. The British government uniformed their native troops in India with goods made at the York Mills.

“Mr. Batchelder was very much more than a successful manufacturer. He was a many-sided man. He was the inventor of several machines which are still in use, and are better than anything that has been devised to supersede them. Moreover, he was interested in all that interests men, a shrewd observer and a sagacious counsellor. He watched public affairs with intelligent earnestness, and displayed a remarkable insight in reference to them. Naturally he was largely concerned with the economical questions which came

up from time to time in Congress. He was an ardent and unbending advocate of the policy of protection to American manufactures. His views on this and other subjects he set forth with much vigor and clearness, and with not a little argumentative power, in numerous communications in the public press. He was the author of a well-written and most interesting pamphlet detailing the early history of the cotton manufacture in the United States, written in 1863, when the author was already near his eightieth year. A series of articles, ten in number, entitled "Free Trade and the Tariff," were published in the newspapers in 1861. His contributions to current literature, though not very frequent, continued almost to the close of his life. Several times within the past year he has, in our own columns, commented upon passing events with all the enthusiasm of youth, but also with the sagacity that should be gained with age and experience.

"It is not claiming too much for him to say that his name should be placed among those of eminent Americans. His life was in only a limited sense public, but his success shows that if he had given his talents a different direction he might have attained exalted station. He preferred to do the duty that lay before him in that department of usefulness to which early training and natural adaptability directed him. He did that duty thoroughly and acceptably, and his memory will be cherished not merely by his relatives and friends, but by all who have had the benefit, during a long term of years, of his skill and prudence in business."

*XVI. Annual Report of the President. Read
May 7, 1885.*

WE assemble again in annual meeting to review the year now closing, and prepare for the seventeenth year now opening upon us. The transition, from the one to the other, forms almost the only epoch in our uneventful annals as a society. The work which we do is so quiet and unobtrusive that there is little to mark its progress, or to make known its character save the record which we make from year to year.

The long past, of which we seek to collect the memorials, is constantly lengthening, and each successive generation finds itself already beginning to be historic before it passes from the scene of its activity. Indeed, it would be well if this were more so than it is, and if each generation were more disposed to prepare and leave for them that come after a record of its own achievements.

Time, ever restless, is making history and scattering notes; each one may collect them and extend the mere hints we have so loosely arranged, rescuing from the destruction which so rapidly consumes unvalued manuscripts, and weave them into another half century of change. Meantime our city advances with the stable growth of the older and the quickened energies of the new.

Lowell and Chicago started nearly at the same time.

Under conditions so widely differing, one has become the home of 70,000 and the other of 362,000, and a future to each no one presumes to define.

The recurrence of each anniversary, from unavoidable causes from the conditions of our membership, must always crowd its advent with mingled emotions of seriousness, sadness and warning. Since our last annual meeting we have lost by death :

May 11, 1884.—Benjamin A. Noyes, aged 70 years, 3 months.

May 27.—George Winslow, aged 80 years.

July 3.—Abner Kittredge, aged 77 years, 4 months.

July 7.—Horace Parmenter, aged 75 years, 6 months.

July 24.—John A. Knowles, aged 84 years, 3 months.

October 5.—Jonathan Adams, aged 82 years, 8 months.

November 16.—Isaac B. Piper, aged 70 years.

February 10, 1885.—Nathan Crosby, 87 years.

February 25.—Jeroboam Howe, aged 85 years, 10 months.

The new members added are: George F. Libby, George C. Osgood, and James Francis. The whole number of members from the beginning is 358; died, 134; present number, 224.

Publications received, 1884–85, are as follows :

1. Charleston, S. C., Centennial, 1880. Wm. A. Courtenay. 259 pages.

2. Memorial Addresses. Chicago Historical Society. 3 pamph., 43 pages.

3. State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 11 pamph.

4. Woburn Public Library. 2 pamph.

5. Rhode Island Historical Society. 3 pamph.

6. Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. 2 pamph.

7. Tennessee Historical Society. 1 pamph.

8. Comptroller of Currency, United States, Annual Report.

9. City of Lowell, City Documents.

10. University of California. Berkeley. 25 pamph.

11. T. L. Dickey, New York and Brooklyn Bridge, Opening Ceremonies.

12. Buffalo Historical Society. 1 pamph.
13. Rumford Historical Association. 1 pamph.
14. Report of Professor on Agriculture, University of California. 1 pamph.
15. History of the Ojibways, Minnesota Historical Society. Vol. V. 535 pages.
16. Consecration of the Lowell Cemetery, Dr. Blanchard's Address. Bradley Marshall.
17. Biennial Report of the President of the University of California. 1 pamph.
18. Elephant Pipe, in the Museum, Davenport, Iowa. 1 pamph. Charles E. Putnam.
19. Letters to the Press. J. K. Fellows.
20. Obsequies of Red Jacket. Historical Society, Buffalo, N. Y.
21. Historical Sermon. Rev. A. St. John Chambré, D. D.
22. Proceedings of Rhode Island Historical Society.

At the quarterly meeting, May 9, Mr. C. C. Chase read his paper on Reminiscences of Lowell High School. The quarterly meeting in August was omitted.

November 13.—a paper on the Health of Lowell, by Nathan Allen, M. D. The Early Experiments in Silk Culture, and India Rubber Manufacture in Woburn, Mass., by Charles Cowley, LL. D. The Consecration of St. Anne's Church, Lowell, March 16, 1825, by John O. Green, M. D.

February 6.—The History of St. Anne's Church from the Commencement in 1824, by Charles Hovey. The Life and Character of Rev. Amos Blanchard, D. D., by D. M. Patterson, M. D.

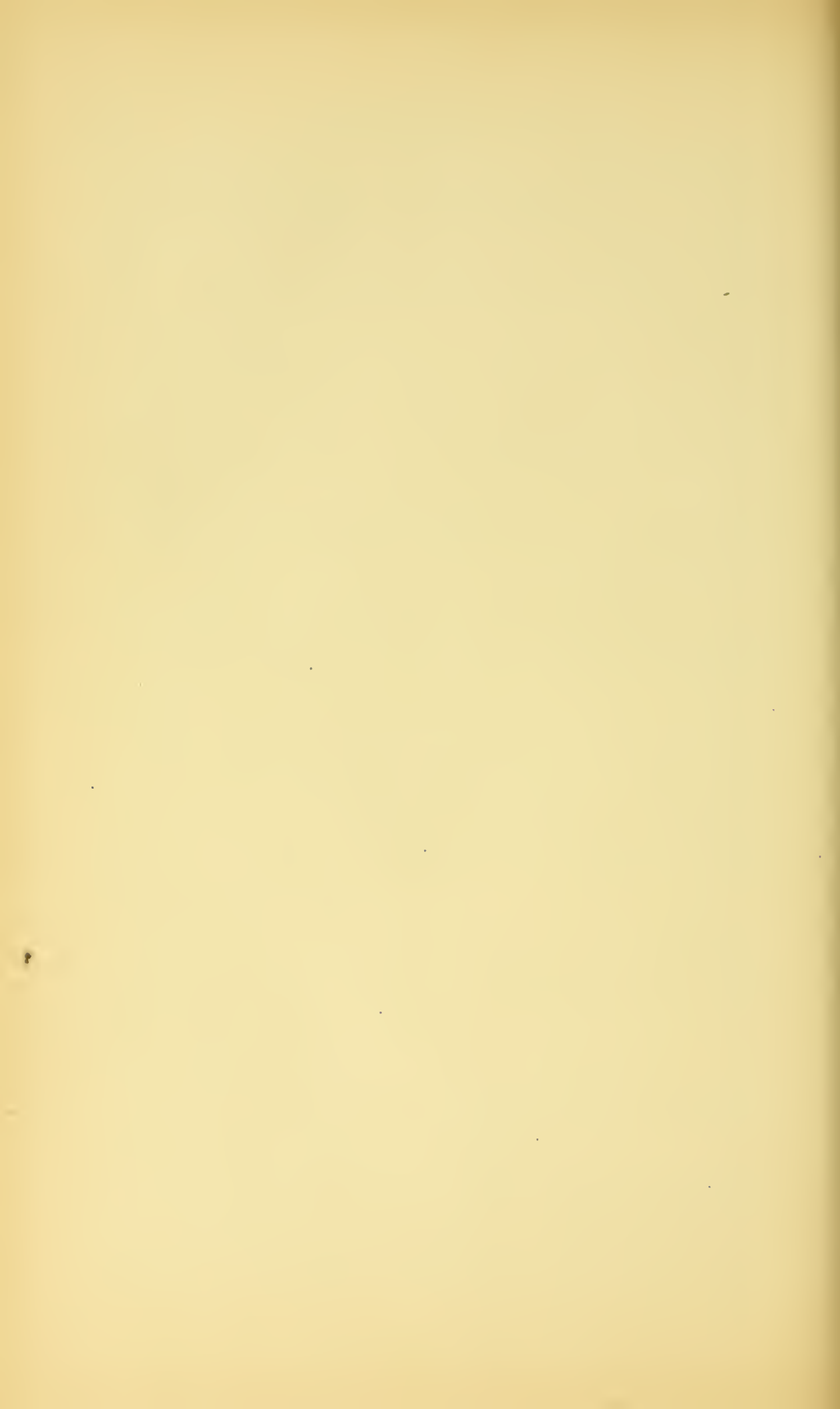
In September last was issued No. 1, Vol. III., of our contributions. The No. 2, Vol. III., is now in the hands of the printer and will shortly appear.

The retrospect of the year now closing is not wholly sad. In the increasing number of our distant exchanges and correspondents we recognize a widespread influence. And from our beginning we have had the countenance

and encouragement of the local press, whose marvellous enterprise and watchfulness in modern times are evidenced in the contrast that the death of Kirk Boott, in 1837, was noticed only in a paragraph of four lines, and that of Warren Colburn, in 1833, in little more.

The common lot is to be circumscribed by a single aim and a retired home; usefulness and eminence in various forms or places being the career of but few educated men. To pass into oblivion when decrepit or dead, is a dismal thought to the young, yet the transit may be delayed, if not avoided, by uprightness; and so its dread may incite to virtuous activities, which no seclusion can wholly conceal.

We desire once more to commend our organization to the sympathy and co-operation of our rising community.



CONTRIBUTIONS

OF

THE OLD RESIDENTS'

Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

VOL. III. No. 3.

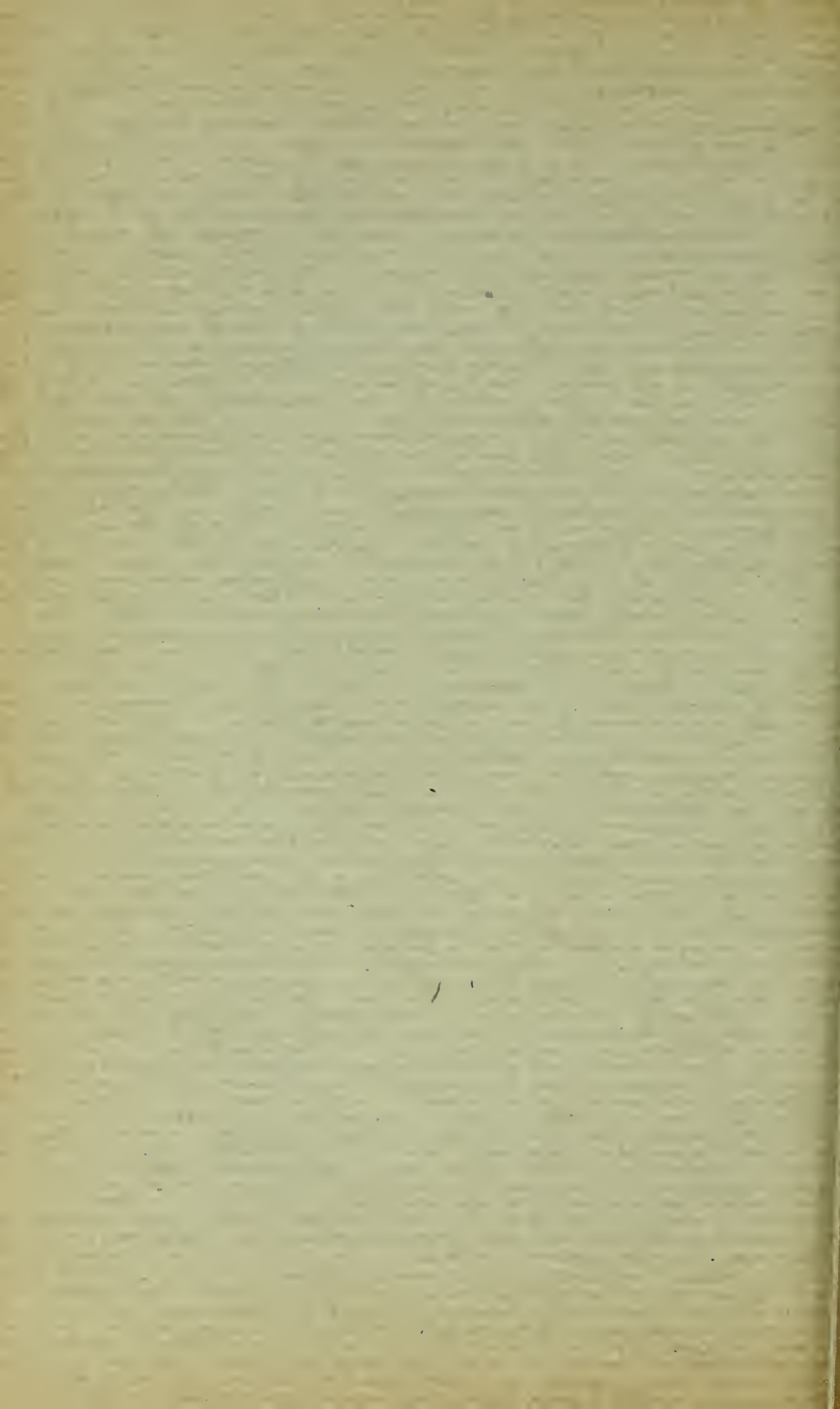
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W. W. W.

CONTENTS.

XVII.	Autobiography of Dr. John O. Green	217
XVIII.	Experiments in Sericulture and in India-Rubber Manufacture, at Montvale, by Charles Cowley, LL. D.	243
XIX.	Great Freshets in Merrimack River, by James B. Francis . . .	252
XX.	The Discount Banks of Lowell, by Charles Hovey	258
XXI.	The Freshet of 1831, by Alfred Gilman	270
XXII.	The Middlesex Canal	273
XXIII.	History of St. Anne's Church, by Charles Hovey	309

*XVII. Autobiography, by Dr. John O. Green.
Read May 8, 1878.*

THE famous Sydney Smith says, "It is natural for every man to wish for distinction, and the praise of those who can confer honor by their praise, in spite of all false philosophy, is sweet to every human heart; but as eminence can be but the lot of the few, *patience of obscurity* is a duty, which we owe not more to our own happiness, than to the quiet of the world at large." As I appear before you this night, in obedience to your request last November, it must not be assumed that I do not fully and cheerfully recognize this duty.

If an aged, reflective man were to find at the bottom of an old chest, where it had lain forgotten fifty years, a record which he had written of himself when he was young, simply and vividly describing his whole heart and pursuits, would he not read it with more wonder than almost any other writing of his age could inspire? He would feel the young man thus introduced to him separated by so wide a difference of character as to render congenial familiarity impossible.

I was born in Malden, Middlesex County, Mass., May 14, 1799, being the eldest son of Rev. Aaron Green (H. U. 1789), who was from 1794 to 1827 the minister of that, his native town, being himself born within two hundred rods of the Parsonage, my birth-place, and where he passed thirty-three years of his active life.

The Malden of my childhood, now comprising Melrose, Malden, and Everett, was large in territory, with a scattered population of perhaps twelve hundred, and primitive even beyond its neighbors. It was separated

from Boston by Malden and Charlestown toll-bridges, whose toll for horse and chaise was forty-seven cents, which doubtless operated seriously to retard its advance and civilization. On what is now Main Street still may be seen the old Parsonage, now the residence of H. Wilson, Esq., retaining many of its old features, its timbers now one hundred and eighty years old, the abode of venerable and honored clergymen. I distinctly recollect its kitchen fireplace, on one side of which stood the settle whence the stars were easily seen as we looked up the capacious chimney, and the smoke-jack for turning the spit. On one of the panes of glass in the study, written with a diamond, was the name of Rev. Peter Thatcher (H. U. 1769), a former minister in Malden, afterwards a minister of Brattle-street Church, Boston, and names of his children, and dates.

The old buttonwood tree, which was in full leaf and vigor at the time of the battle of Bunker Hill, under which we children often listened to the chimes of Christ Church bells in the clear frosty air of a Christmas morning, distant five miles, still casts its shadow upon the venerable door.

It is easy but very sad to call to memory the loved ones of that happy home, all but two of whom have gone to their rest.

The minister's house in those days was often the centre of the refinement and cultivation of the country village, and its doors were always open to the freest hospitality to all, but especially to the clergy.

Their venerable forms, from all the circle of the towns around, now rise readily to my memory. To some of you they may do the same. The Rev. Drs. Osgood of Medford, Tuckerman of Chelsea, Barnard and Bentley of Salem, Thatcher of Boston, Emerson of Reading, Motley of Lynnfield, Reynolds of Wilmington, Thatcher

of Lynn, Frothingham of Saugus, were all familiar and welcome guests. The impress of the manners and conversation of such men upon the young boy must have been improving and lasting.

I was born on Tuesday, and on the following Sunday was taken to meeting and baptized with the name of my maternal grandfather, in conformity to the custom of the day. The meeting-house, erected in 1727, was at that time showing in many ways its approaching decay. Years after, I distinctly recollect its rattling sashes and broken panes, and in wintry, windy days, the snow drifting through the openings, upon the high pulpit with green cushion and tassels. Below the pulpit was the deacons' seat, and Deacon Ramsdell and Deacon Wait, each in large, white, full-bottom wigs, always present on Sundays. On communion days the hymn was always "deaconed," as it was called. The aged Deacon Ramsdell, in solemn, quivering tones, reading two lines at a time and the choir singing them responsively. It was not until 1818, and after the new meeting-house was built, and after a very warm discussion and violent opposition to a measure so indicative, as was feared, of growing effeminacy, that a stove was placed in the broad aisle for the first time.

When seven years old I was sent in winter to the Centre District School, kept six weeks, and distant more than a mile, with its roaring open wood fire and plank benches. The introduction of teaching English Grammar to one of the older pupils, from the Ladies' Accidence, was a great novelty and evidence of the zeal and enterprise of Master Joshua Todd.

My father has left on record the history of his sacrifices and struggles with poverty for his education. His father died when he was but three years old, leaving him to the care of his mother, with scanty means of

support. It was in the midst of the Revolution. By the encouragement of an elder brother, Ezra Green (H. U. 1761), later in life, at the age of nineteen, he began his preparation for college, and supported himself there by teaching and by the strictest economy. His salary at Malden was one hundred pounds (\$333.33), and the parsonage, paid tardily and irregularly, out of which a family was to be supported and the respectability of his position to be maintained. In view of all this, when I was nine years old the momentous decision must have been made of sending me to Harvard, for in company with my cousin, Hon. James D. Green, of Cambridge, he began teaching us our Latin Grammar, and June 11, 1810, we were sent to Dr. Hosmer's school in Medford.

There were two rival private schools in Medford, both flourishing; one kept by Dr. Stearns, and the other by Dr. Hosmer. The former was the more popular; the latter under sterner discipline, and recommended for that reason to my father by Rev. Dr. Osgood. It proved an excellent school of forty boys, living with the teacher and under his watch at all times. The cowhide was very seldom used, but it was there, and when used upon some of the older boys the remedy was speedy, thorough, and effectual, and the culprit was not seen for several days.

Up to the time of my being sent to Medford, at nine years of age, I had never been from home, but under the best possible parental training, more especially of a devoted mother

Who always made home happy
What noble record this:
A noble life! best written not
In any book of fame;
Among the list of noted ones
None ever saw her name;
For only her own household knew
The victories she had won;
And none but they could testify
How well her work was done.

My visits ever afterward were as frequent as duty would allow, my heart returning to that home with the yearnings of affection, intensified by the length and necessity of my absences, till the death of my dear parents more than fifty years afterward.

Two years afterward, Aug. 27, 1813, we were driven by my father from Malden to Cambridge, being notified to appear at the college chapel at 6 A. M., for examination. That chilly, foggy morning is clearly remembered, and the anxiety and trepidation of the first serious dread of our young hearts, and shared, too, by an anxious father. The entire day was spent in the examination, followed by an anxious night, but the next morning with intense joy we received a printed slip as our *admittatur*, and Sept. 22, 1813, we joined the class of 1817 at Harvard.

I have always regarded my college life with great satisfaction. I entered young, at the age of fourteen years and three months. I was faithful to my duties, ambitious to hold a respectable rank, and received the honors due to that rank. It is often said a person had for classmates distinguished men, as if this was a distinction of his own acquiring, while in truth it is wholly accidental. In some respects the class of 1817 has been remarkable. Eighty-one entered this class and sixty-seven graduated, and twenty-four are living. It has furnished: Clergymen, fifteen, five of whom had the degree of S. T. D.; physicians, nine; lawyers, thirteen; tutors in college, six; Secretary of the Navy, one; U. S. Minister to England, one; Judge of Supreme Court, one; Attorney-General of the United States, one; Members of Congress, three; Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain, one; Treasurer of Harvard College, one; professors in college, two; President of Brown University, one;

Mayor of Boston, one; Mayor of Cambridge, one. Its longevity is also remarkable. This class celebrated its sixtieth anniversary by a dinner at the Parker House, June 26, 1877, and fourteen were present, viz.:—

George Bancroft, of Washington, born Oct. 3, 1800.

Jonathan H. Cobb, of Dedham, born July 8, 1799.

Joseph Coolidge, of Boston, born Oct. 31, 1798.

Caleb Cushing, of Newburyport, born Jan. 17, 1800.

George B. Emerson, of Boston, born Sept. 22, 1797.

James D. Green, of Cambridge, born Sept. 8, 1798.

John O. Green, of Lowell, born May 14, 1799.

Samuel Hart, of Brooklyn, N. Y., born Nov. 27, 1796.

Clough R. Miles, of Grantville, born May 31, 1796.

Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester, born March 28, 1798.

Samuel E. Sewall, of Boston, born Nov. 9, 1799.

Robert F. Walcott, of Boston, born March 16, 1797.

Alva Woods, of Providence, born Aug. 13, 1794.

William F. Cary, of Boston, born Oct. 3, 1795.

All took part in and enjoyed a full flow of spirited and interesting discussion. Sylvanus L. Mitchell, of Boston, was prevented from attending, by accident, and Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, of New York, detained by sickness, sent a cordial and beautiful letter. The average age of this company is eighty-one years.

The long vacation of six weeks, at Harvard, occurred in winter, and by those whose necessities required it, was occupied in teaching district schools, and might be prolonged if so occupied, provided the studies of his class were kept up. In my senior year a school was obtained for me in Scotland District, a remote village in Andover, Mass. On the seventh of December, 1816, I was sent, was duly examined by Rev. Dr. Edwards, and Dec. 9 entered on my duties. I was then seventeen years old and very small of my age. I had sixty-nine

scholars with ages from five to twenty-one years; twelve were Abbotts and eight were Russells. My first class consisted of twenty, all but one of whom were older than myself—several girls of eighteen and boys over twenty.

Best cypherers in Rule of Three	4
Compound Rules	13
Surveying	1
Minor Historical Catechism	12
Cummings' Geography	2
Parsing	2
A-B-C	2
Reading and Writing	33

The required books were Cummings' Geography, Bible, Webster's Spelling Book, Assembly's Catechism, Art of Reading, Flint's Surveying, Ladies' Accidence, and Murray's Grammar. On Saturday all were required to say the Assembly's Catechism through; every day, and twice a day, to recite in the Minor Historical Catechism.

Such a school necessarily required the constant and diligent attention of the master, to which I gave myself unreservedly. In Scotland District were no distractions from social or other meetings. My only recreation was a walk of three miles on Saturday, to visit friends in the Institution, and to meeting on Sunday, the same distance. My work in school by day, and my college studies by night, made sleep welcome and sure. Rev. Dr. Edwards, of whom my committee complained that he gave more time to the schools than to his sermons, visited and encouraged me. As the expiration of the nine weeks drew near I was requested to keep three longer, which, however, I declined.

My vacation was ended on Feb. 19, 1817. I received my stipulated pay, sixteen dollars per month, and Feb. 21 returned to college. It was the first money I ever earned, was the reward of faithful effort, and to this day I have never doubted it was the best discipline a young man could have. How it could have been done even now seems a mystery.

In July, 1817, soon after the appointments of the public parts for commencement, of which one was assigned to me, application was made to Prof. Hedge for a teacher to go to Castine, in Hancock County, Maine, with a population of about nine hundred, and teach a private Latin School of thirty boys preparing for college. On his recommendation I accepted the offer.

Our commencement was Aug. 27, and our several parts, as we fondly thought, were appreciated by our admiring friends.

Sept. 8, 1817, I went on board schooner Bee, Capt. Wardwell, and after a prosperous passage of thirty-three hours from Boston we arrived at Castine, and soon I was received into the family of Rev. William Mason (H. U. 1792), which became my home for the subsequent year. After breakfast I was introduced to an association of clergy, then visiting there from their distant parishes, for the purpose of forming a Bible Society, and Mr. Mason took us all to see the fort and other defences of the town, which had been very perfectly done by the British during their possession of the place in 1813. He told us that one day at early dawn, in that year, most suddenly appeared in the bay a fleet of fifteen British men-of-war slowly approaching the town. The selectmen and himself had barely time to take to a boat with a flag of truce, to seek the admiral and surrender the town, which was only defended by a single company.

The admiral received them courteously, but told them that he should take possession without violence, unless necessary, and directed them to hasten back and see that every one remained close in-doors while the army disembarked. They landed five thousand men and were quartered upon the inhabitants, the officers selecting the better houses. Mr. Mason received four officers into his house. During the nine months of their stay they were in hourly expectation of an attack. They cut a canal across the peninsula to cut off all approaches, and built a complete system of batteries, blockhouses, etc., and the large fort to which we have alluded. All payments were made in gold, and liberal, so that the town, although in the enemies' hands, was far from suffering the distress of their captivity. The troops were under the strictest discipline, which their exposed situation demanded. On one occasion in the winter, when one of our icy rains occurred, and they were expecting to be attacked, the whole army was fitted with iron creepers upon their feet. This narration greatly interested all, but none so much as the young stranger, to whom everything was novel.

Castine was socially, intellectually, and otherwise, a great contrast to Scotland District among the rocks of old Andover, where my home had been the winter before. There were many families of wealth and refinement, who were the patrons of the private Latin School, and to whom its master was a frequent and welcome guest, whose civilities and kindness are now, at this distant day, gratefully remembered.

Castine was a shire town of the county, and this several times in the year brought the court judges and lawyers there, and gave great activity to social visiting. Some of the lawyers came ninety miles on horseback,

with their saddle-bags. There was considerable commerce and the residence of a collector, and frequent intercourse with Boston and other ports was chiefly kept up by coasting vessels, bringing our letters and papers.

The school during the year was thirty in number, with few exceptions studying Greek, Latin, and Mathematics, preparing for college, four or five well advanced, and four entered Harvard at the end of the year. I also taught Surveying, and had two studying Bowditch's Navigator. With few exceptions, my pupils were ambitious and diligent, and therefore interesting and improving. The exceptions were numerous enough, however, not only to annoy the master but add greatly to his anxiety, and the fact that they were among the older pupils and belonged, as is too often true, to the more influential classes in town, added greatly to the annoyance. Their progress, of course, was unsatisfactory, and they left the school, to the great advantage of those who remained and their teacher. With abundant work in school and the enjoyment of refined society out of school, the months passed rapidly. I had been engaged for \$300 per year and my passages by water, and we parted with mutual regret and respect. I sailed for Boston in the schooner Polly, Capt. Wardwell, July 3, 1818, and arrived in seven days.

During my residence in Castine the choice of a profession for my life-work became the subject of chief consideration. My parents and friends left it literally to myself, my father being satisfied merely to say "trust in the Lord and do good, and verily thou shalt be fed." Through life I had witnessed every phase of a clergyman's life, even in those days when among the marked traits of the times of the fathers of New England, was the immense personal influence of the ministers, as to

seem almost a charmed life independent of their heavenly mission, yet coupled with such poverty of earthly goods, and such sacrifices and self-denial, as must seem disheartening and discouraging to anyone not yet wholly weaned from the world. It is not strange, then, that I did not adopt my father's profession, so laborious and so ill requited. Then again, I had witnessed several leading men in the medical profession around me,—Dr. Buck, of my native town; Walker and Thompson, of Charlestown; Gardner, of Lynn; Brooks, of Medford, my father's physician and afterwards Governor of Massachusetts. In my senior year in college I had listened with intense interest to lectures by Dr. James Jackson, Dr. John C. Warren, Dr. John Gorham, Dr. Walter Channing, men not only of the highest professional attainments, but with such refinement of manners and high sense of honor as would make them men of mark in any community. *Their* labors and sacrifices seemed to be fully requited by the confidence and respect and gratitude of their patrons. Independent of these personal and private attractions to the study of medicine come the more weighty and general ones. If we look at medicine simply as a science it is full of interest, and the study of it is therefore a rich source of gratification. Its subjects have a wide range and an endless variety. No science has such extensive and intimate connection with other sciences. It gathers to itself the resources of chemistry, botany, mechanics, comparative anatomy and physiology, and mental philosophy, and fills its storehouse of facts with a variety sufficient to satisfy the most eager curiosity. Its details are never dry and uninteresting as the details of other sciences.

Sept. 10, 1818, I began the study of medicine with Ephraim Buck, M. D., in Malden. I have never ceased

to consider him as a model country doctor. He had begun his education late in life, under many disadvantages, and after working at a mechanical trade. His whole training had been practical. His strongly marked character had many excellent traits,—his firmness; his honesty; his conscientiousness in all the relations of life; his tenacity of well-formed opinions; his fidelity to duty and his constancy in performing it were remarkable; so fertile in original expedients for the relief of the sick, dictated by his long experience; day and night, with scarcely a thought about his reward, his long and weary rides without a murmur; his high sense of professional honor, and contempt for all trickery. After years of this ill paid toil, he removed to Boston, entered at once on a lucrative practice, was respected and honored as President of Suffolk District Medical Society, and died in 1859.

Hitherto I had had chiefly to do with books, but now I shared his rides and prepared his medicines, and the lessons of his long experience were impressed upon me, as my earliest, most valuable, and longest remembered.

In the winters of 1818 and 1819 I walked into Boston, to attend medical lectures at the college in Mason Street, in company with two students, every day, a distance of five miles, reaching the lecture room on Mason Street at 9 A. M., and home to dine; and we were among the more punctual and constant of the class.

On Oct. 23, 1821, I went to Boston to pass the remainder of my pupilage with Edward Reynolds, M. D. (H. U. 1810.) Dr. Reynolds had received the instructions of the best teachers in his own country, and had recently returned from the European schools, and was then developing the results of his training, which have since raised him to a high position in his profession,

which he now holds in an honorable age. He was, at this time, City Physician, having in charge the old almshouse in Leverett Street. The late Winslow Lewis, M. D. (H. U. 1819), and myself, under the supervision of Dr. Reynolds, were here constantly occupied, having every opportunity for clinical study and practice with a large number of the town's poor. Dr. Reynolds delivered a course of surgical lectures with operations, which at that time were a most valuable assistance to us.

On Feb. 20, 1822, I was examined, on Feb. 23 read and defended my thesis, and on March 10 received the degree of M. D., from Harvard.

At this point, we are wont to say I completed my education. I am conscious that I have been very minute in the details of my early training, because our lives are always so colored and greatly influenced by it. But, if in other professions this expression may be proper, its fallacy in medicine needs no proof. When the doctor begins practice he has everything to learn, and fortunate if much of his teaching from books has not to be unlearned.

While casting about for a place to begin my life-work, Dr. William J. Walker, of Charlestown, through his brother-in-law, Thomas Hurd, who was then a woolen manufacturer here, had heard privately that the Waltham Company were about to erect two mills here, and this would attract, probably, a population of one thousand, and a young man might find by patient waiting, a decent living, and advised me of these facts.

On the twenty-fifth of March, 1822, Dr. Buck and myself rose at three o'clock A. M., and drove up to reconnoitre. We were introduced and our business made known to Mr. Boott, Mr. Hurd, Capt. Jonathan Tyler, Capt. Whiting, and some others. The former, in a short

interview in the dust and sand, among the diggers, spoke encouragingly of my coming, the other gentlemen intimating cautiously that the profession in their vicinity was abundantly and ably supplied. We dined at Tyler's tavern, and returned to Malden. I was not long in coming to a decision, for here certainly seemed a chance even, in what was then considered an over-crowded profession.

On the twenty-third of April, 1822, in the afternoon, I rode up on horseback, arriving at the Pawtucket Falls about 6 P. M., to take possession, and passed the night at Capt. Whiting's. The search on the following day for a boarding-place proved a difficult and discouraging one, from the natural repugnance to receive a stranger on a seemingly undesirable and unpromising business. But at night Mr. Artemas Holden agreed to receive me till I could get another place. In his family, presided over by his estimable wife, now the oldest survivor on Pawtucket Street, I lived four years, until the house I now live in was finished in September, 1826.

And now, as I write, passes the fifty-sixth anniversary of my coming to what is now the city of Lowell, and in review of these long years of a busy and active life, so seldom interrupted by ill-health or absence, how full of personal interest, — yet how barren, — is the retrospect of startling or even of interesting events, which cause a ripple in the current of the daily duty of a conscientious physician! My career has differed probably little from that of any true and faithful medical man, presenting, in its unambitious pursuits, few incidents other than a long life-series of kind actions and deeds of mercy, known and appreciated only by those upon whom they were conferred. The life of a medical practitioner is not made up of brilliant efforts and er-

ratio displays of genius; but consists rather of daily and nightly toil and gentle ministrations, resting neither day or night, without feeling he is constantly on duty and subject to frequent interruptions.

Pawtucket Falls village at this time, consisted of nine houses, viz.: Artemas Holden, James and Jonathan Bowers, Nathaniel Wright, Phineas Whiting, Joel Spalding, Amos Whitney, Elisha Ford, John Ford, Archibald McFarlin. There were two stores at the corner of what is now Pawtucket and School Streets, one kept by Capt. Whiting, and the other by James Tyler.

Capt. Whiting was a very successful business man, and at this time, by his industry and shrewdness, had accumulated a large landed property, destined now by the influx of population and coming events to be rapidly and vastly augmented. He built the "stone hotel," now the property of James C. Ayer, in 1824, and died in November, 1835, his estate being appraised \$100,000. His store was filled with all sorts of goods, — a great resort, of course, — with what was called a "bar," where the toddy-stick was in constant use.

Nathaniel Wright was postmaster, his office being on the Dracut side, with a mail brought from Billerica on horseback once a week.

A school-house stood near where the hospital now stands, and a saw and gristmill near the bridge, both greatly dilapidated. The passage of rafts of ship timber through the canal round the falls, on the way to Newburyport, brought numbers of raftsmen to the village. The fisheries of the river in the spring of the year were a very profitable business, whose centre was at the falls. At the time of my coming I saw thousands of shad and alewives seined in this vicinity at one haul.

At daybreak on the lawful days, the village was all astir with the wagons from a distance of ten or fifteen

miles. The fish-rights attached to certain rocks and localities, which had been in the older and wealthier families for generations, were the subjects of litigation, and bought and sold for considerable sums. At the old bunt, near the opening of Beaver Brook, 1,500 shad and 3,000 alewives have been taken at one haul. This was owned in shares and fished on certain days. One at the head of Long Island was very valuable, as also another at Concord-river Neck. The lamprey eels were sometimes so numerous, that in one warm night in the spring, thirty bushels have been taken by scoop-nets in a single hole in the rocks. The salmon were usually taken in pots, the catching of which was an exciting item of news. The fish, laid upon a piece of board and carried on the shoulders in triumph, was sent at once to Boston. If one could be caught for the dinner of Long Wharf Corporation a fabulous price was demanded and paid. A common price of shad was ten cents, and lampreys two cents.

Messrs. Holden, Whitney and McFarlin were coopers, and employed in making superior hogsheads, all which were sent to Medford, to the distillers of the celebrated rum.

Mr. Holden was a model New England mechanic, whose daily task began and ended with the sun, of few words, of firm purpose, but of such integrity of life and inflexible honesty as led to his election as town treasurer several years after, as also as representative in 1832.

Once in three months a stir was caused in the village by the meeting of the Directors of the Pawtucket Bridge Corporation, incorporated in 1792, under the governorship of John Hancock. A table was spread in the toll-house and the directors seated around. When all

was ready the tollman brought to the treasurer the money which he had received, comprising of course, every variety of currency, some bills, a great variety of silver, and much copper. After being counted by the treasurer the count was verified by the gentlemen around the table, the dividend made and recorded, and each stockholder received his share of each variety of cash. For many years the stock had greatly declined, but the new population rapidly increased its business, so that when it was made free in 1842, the shares brought more than \$200.

To this village, as I have said, I came April 23, 1822. Mr. Boott had come on the fifteenth and occupied half of Capt. Whiting's house, and Blaney, with a gang of two hundred Irish laborers, had begun on a large contract for digging the canals, and for the foundation of mill No. 1.

On the twenty-seventh of April, four days after me, another young physician came, by the name of Wilson, much to my disturbance. He found no encouragement, however, from the gentlemen to whom I had brought letters, called on me to know if I should remain, and upon receiving a decided affirmative answer, he left on the fifth of May.

On the twenty-ninth of April Mr. Boott was thrown out of his carriage, descending the hill near J. L. Corliss' house. One of the Dracut doctors was in the store nearby. Mr. Boott was carried into the house, and to the surprise of the by-standers, he sent for the young stranger; this being the first professional call I had, and a most auspicious beginning.

June 4, the Dutton-street canal was finished, and the barracks of the men were removed to two large barns on the Fletcher farm, near the hosiery mill, fitted

up with bunks for sleeping, and rough tables for feeding. The numbers of men were greatly increased preparatory to beginning enlarging the old canal round the falls. The nature of their employment exposed them to much accident and disease, and my early practice was much among them, night and day. In their wretched dwellings, while awaiting at the bedside of the sick, I have sometimes sat with an umbrella over my head to shield me from the dripping of a leaky roof.

At that time, Mr. Thomas Hurd was making about two hundred yards of satinets per day, at his mill near the Middlesex Company, and in June he began blasting for a mill for spinning his warp, as he said, in the Falls, nearly opposite to the stone house. The foundations, visible to this day, were partly done, when a great struggle began between him and the Merrimack Company to see which would first acquire the mill privilege. Mr. Hurd was successful in getting a grindstone moving by water-power first, and the Merrimack were compelled to buy him out, to prevent any interference with their control of the whole falls, which they did in August following.

On the tenth of June, Mr. Boott's house, now the hospital, was raised, near what is now the Boott Corporation, and it is interesting to know that although at the time it had two wings, which were omitted when the building was moved to its present locality in 1835, it was finished so that he moved into it in October.

On the eighth of July, the greatest excitement was caused by a man being, as it was termed, blown up by gunpowder in blasting rocks. It was the beginning of a series of similar and frequent accidents. On the sixteenth, another occurred, and on Oct. 15, Russell Mears, of Tewksbury, whose case was peculiar, had made three

holes, had charged two of them, and was tamping the third, when it exploded, throwing him into the air. He fell near the other holes, which exploded in succession, and no one could approach until afterwards. He lost an arm and one eye, and was pierced in all directions by the fragments of stone, some of them weighing two ounces. He recovered, however, after months of suffering and much of my anxious care. These accidents were so frequent that I had, in two years, five amputations of arms, one individual losing both hands. I was called twice to Amoskeag Falls, now Manchester, and once to Nashua, in consultation in similar cases.

In November, 1822, I witnessed one of the most singular, and to me one of the most novel experiments, which I have described before, of planting the acorns of the white oak, so suggestive of the foresight and prudence of the founders of our city. A tract of eleven acres, now nearly covered with dwellings, on School and the adjacent streets, was selected, carefully fenced with stone walls, ploughed and harrowed. Bushels of acorns, at five dollars a bushel, were brought by a hardy yeoman, from Vermont, and planted under the direction of Mr. Ezra Worthen, in the most careful manner; thus to provide superior white oak timber for the use of the mills in after years. You can easily imagine that such an experiment was looked upon with great incredulity by the farmers around. But it showed the enterprise and confident spirit of the men who were now beginning the foundations of our city, not to be daunted by obstacles, and quite willing to wait. The acorns sprouted, came up, and a few reached the height of a foot or two, but were allowed to wither away, more promising and more pressing work occupying the time

and thoughts of the owners. It was not a good financial operation, and, I think, has never been repeated or proposed.

In May, 1823, I was chosen on the School Committee of Chelmsford, which was the beginning of my long service of seventeen years in that office, in Chelmsford and the town and city of Lowell. I think we were the pioneers of several new measures which have long since become the settled policy of Massachusetts, viz.: the abolition of school districts, the making and printing of annual school reports, and perhaps others. In the introduction of "Colburn's First Lessons in Arithmetic" we were preceded only by Boston, but the use of which became almost universal.

In December, 1823, in District No. 2, at the Falls, the committee undertook to require some uniformity of books of arithmetic, and instructed the teacher, Mr. C. F. Blanchard, accordingly. This was thought by Mr. W. McFarlin an alarming encroachment upon the liberties of the parents' choice, and resisted. The boy remained without instruction in that branch for want of a book. An action was entered against the teacher to compel him to use the book chosen by the father. Mr. Blanchard retained Mr. Hoar, of Concord, to defend him. For some reason best known to the promoters of the suit, before trial the action was withdrawn.

In January, 1824, Dr. Huntington came, bringing a letter to me from Dr. Wells, of Boston. He located in what we now call Belvidere.

Jan. 24, 1824, a stranger was taken suddenly and violently ill at Tyler's tavern. Dr. Huntington and myself early saw that his case was uncommon and suspi-

cious, and next morning five of the neighboring physicians were summoned, and decided it was small-pox. At this time, it was probably true that there was not in Massachusetts a physician under forty years of age who had ever seen a case, so rare was its occurrence. The consternation which ensued cannot now be easily believed. More than half the people in the mills quit work and fled in all directions. Some of the girls, in their anxiety to escape, actually walked to Newburyport. A town meeting was called, a pest-house prepared,—being a rough boarded tool-house, near the Guard Locks. An old man who had experience in the disease was employed as nurse. It proved a confluent case, and the patient died Feb. 1, and was buried in the night. Soon after, two articles appeared in the *Columbian Centinel*, in Boston, reflecting severely upon the apathy and tardiness of action of the selectmen,—Nathaniel Wright being chairman,—the authorship of which was not in much doubt. A reply, signed by an old inhabitant of Chelmsford, was made. At the town meeting, in March following, notwithstanding many threats, the old board was reëlected.

To reassure the confidence of this peculiarly sensitive community as soon as possible, it became necessary that vaccination should be speedy and general. Messengers were sent to several places to procure the *virus*, I myself going to Concord in the night for the same purpose. We were successful to a degree, so that a general vaccination was soon effected. Notwithstanding, a second case occurred on the fifteenth of March, which recovered. This was the origin of the measures which have been followed by the corporations, and which have been successful in preventing the scare in subsequent outbreaks of the disease. In one of

them I vaccinated seven hundred girls. I wrote a history of small-pox in Lowell, which was printed in 1828.

On the sixteenth of March, 1825, occurred the consecration of St. Anne's Church and the rectorship of Rev. Dr. Edson, my life-long friend, as its minister, and soon after, as the result and accompaniment of prayer and thoughtful discrimination, I became convinced that the most solemn individual responsibility rests upon every one of us for the method and manner of our use of time, money, influence, position, education, of each and every gift, only to be used for the glory of Him who is the giver of all things. Thenceforward I became a punctual and constant attendant on public worship whenever my business, arranged with thoughtful reference to that object, would allow.

In this connection, I always love to quote. "I have always found," says the great Chief-Justice Hale, of England, "by a strict and diligent observation that a due observance of the duty of Sunday has ever had joined to it a blessing upon the rest of my time, and the week that has been so begun has been blessed and prosperous to me; and on the other hand, when I have been negligent of the duties of this day, the rest of the week has been unsuccessful and unhappy to my own secular employments. And I do not write this lightly, but by long and sound experience." "The testimony of one lawyer," says his biographer, "will be less suspected than that of many priests."

A most important event in the history of St. Anne's parish was a suit against the Merrimack Company, to establish our title to the church and parsonage. After two years' delay, and being twice argued before the Supreme Court, a change was providentially made in its members, and thus a majority gave decision against the

society. The rescript was drawn up by Judge E. R. Hoar, and sent up. As soon as it arrived, the American flag was hoisted upon the parsonage, then occupied by Mr. Isaac Hinkley, and kept flying for a week.

And here comes in another incident. When the Treasurer of St. Anne's Church was on his way to pay the \$12,000, — the price of the church, — in 1843, he was met by one of the original and most influential directors. Upon learning the nature of the treasurer's errand, his reply was that it was no better than highway robbery.

For a physician, however unambitious of public office, and however undesirable it may be that the diversion of any considerable portion of his time or thought should be taken from his profession, it is not perhaps strange or unnatural that he should be called to bear some portion of the public burden. In my own case it has been humble indeed, and I have a very moderate estimate of the worth of the service.

In 1825, I was President of Lowell Lyceum, and lectured in Andover, Billerica, and Tyngsboro'.

In 1827, Vice-President of East District Medical Society; Health Commissioner.

In 1826, School Committee, and subsequently sixteen years.

In 1829, Vice-President of Lowell Institution for Savings.

In 1839, Alderman.

In 1842, Director of Lowell Bank.

In 1841, Counsellor Massachusetts Medical Society.

In 1846, Orator in Massachusetts Medical Society.

In 1849, President of Lowell Bank.

My published contributions have been, —

History of Small-Pox in Lowell.

Biography of Calvin Thomas, M. D.

Cases in Medical Practice.

Memorial of John C. Dalton, M. D.

Resolutions on death of Dr. Huntington.

Resolutions on death of Dr. J. C. Bartlett.

Annual Address before the Massachusetts Medical Society.

Address at Dedication of the Green School-house.

Address at Lowell Semi-Centennial.

Address at the Consecration of the St. Anne's Chime of Bells.

On the twenty-seventh of May, 1846, by the appointment of its council, I delivered the annual address before the Massachusetts Medical Society, in Tremont Temple. Its subject was "The Factory System in its Hygienic Relations," which was explained and defended and contrasted with the English, and claiming by facts and arguments our own superiority at that time, more obvious and defensible then than now. It cost me much labor and anxiety, as it was largely statistical. It was received with flattering attention by a large audience of Massachusetts physicians. A vote of thanks was moved by Dr. Homans, of Boston, in complimentary language, and the address was printed. A committee of the older Lowell agents waited on me, to express their opinion that my subject was treated in the best and most truthful manner, and their great delight at my success.

On July 7, I received the following letter from Edward Everett, at that time President of Harvard College:—

CAMBRIDGE, July 7, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—

I received yesterday and read *with great satisfaction* the copy of your address before the Massachusetts Medical Society, in May. This subject has engaged much attention in England, and I shall be gratified to have it in my power to send a copy of your discourse to Sir James Graham, Lord Ashley, and one or two other friends in that country, if convenient and agreeable to you to furnish me with them for that purpose.

I am, dear sir, respectfully yours.

EDWARD EVERETT.

DR. JOHN O. GREEN.

July 9, the following was received:—

Boston, July 8, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—

I thank you for your address, and after commencing I felt unwilling to leave off reading until I had finished it. In short, it is full of interesting facts that should be thrown broadcast among our people. Will you do me the favor to send a copy to President Hopkins, Williams College (who was bred to your profession), another to Rev. Dr. Junken, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. It has always been an object of deep concern with me to guard the moral and physical health of factory operatives in my service, and to have the public laws framed so as to enforce their wholesome regulations.

With respect, yours.

AMOS LAWRENCE.

DR. JOHN O. GREEN, Lowell.

DATE OF OFFICES.

- 1823. School Committee in Chelmsford.
- 1824. President of Eastern District Medical Society.
- 1825. President of Lowell Lyceum.
- 1826. School Committee, and subsequently.
- 1827. Health Commissioner.
- 1829. Vice-President of Lowell Institution for Savings.
- 1839. Alderman of city.
- 1842. Director of Lowell Bank.
- 1847. Counsellor of Massachusetts Medical Society.
- 1846. Orator of Massachusetts Medical Society.
- 1859. President of Lowell Bank.
- 1861. President of Manufacturers' Bank.
- 1868. President of Old Residents' Association.
- 1868. Senior Physician of St. John's Hospital.

PUBLISHED ADDRESSES, ETC.

- 1837. History of Small-Pox in Lowell.
- 1830. Cases in Medical Practice — Fracture of Liver.

- 1851. Biography of Calvin Thomas, M. D.
- 1864. Memorial of J. C. Dalton, M. D.
- 1866. Resolutions at death of Dr. Huntington.
- 1878. Resolutions at death of J. C. Bartlett, M. D.
- 1846. An Address before the Massachusetts Medical Society.
- 1876. Reminiscences at Lowell Semi-Centennial.
- 1870. Address at Dedication of Green School.
- 1857. Address at Dedication of Chime of Bells.
- 1879. Memorial of Samuel L. Dana, M. D.
- 1868. Address before Old Residents' Association.
- 1877. Lowell and Harvard College O. H. R.

XVIII. Experiments in Sericulture and in India-Rubber Manufacture, at Montvale, by Charles Cowley, LL. D. Read Nov. 13, 1884.

MONTVALE is a pleasant village in the southeasterly part of Woburn, ten miles from Boston and sixteen from Lowell. The Boston and Lowell Railroad, the Stoneham Branch Railroad, and the Abbajona* River, all run through this village. The principal thoroughfare is Montvale Avenue, which traverses the whole distance from the centre of Woburn to the centre of Stoneham. The Abbajona River rises in North Woburn and flows into Mystic Pond, at Winchester, supplying water-power at several points in its course, to such manufactories as require it.

Having resided at Montvale during several years of my early boyhood, I acquired personal knowledge of the extensive but abortive experiment in Silk Culture, and of the successful experiments in the India-Rubber Manufacture, which form the subjects of this paper; and, although no town or county history, no narrative of the silk or India-rubber manufacture, no book of any kind, has made mention of these experiments, I have thought them worthy of a brief record in our miscellaneous Contributions.

The experiment in Silk Culture at Montvale was begun in the year 1835, and ended in 1838. The "Silk

* Spelled Abbajonis in some ancient deeds.

Farm," as it was called, covered about three hundred acres of land, and belonged to a voluntary association called the Woburn Agricultural and Manufacturing Company,* whose trustees held the legal title to all its property. In the spring of the year 1836, sixteen pounds of white mulberry seed were sown, from which a crop of 4,480,000 trees was expected. Ten thousand mulberry trees of three years' growth were also planted, together with a lot of Chinese mulberry trees. The land selected for this great mulberry orchard lay between the Abbajona River and what is now Washington Street.

The directors of this company were Samuel Sweetser, John Bigelow, P. B. Hovey, Jr., O. B. Coolidge (who was also the superintendent), Thomas Emerson, Jr., and Warren Sweetser. In their first annual report, dated July 27, 1836, they say:—"Sixty acres of the land have been surveyed, and building-lots laid out. Thirteen acres have been sold, including streets, at over one thousand per cent. advance. . . . It is practicable to commence the making of silk next season."† A canal a mile and a quarter long was cut, to supply with water-power the silk factory which was then erected. A block of substantial tenement houses was also erected, and every preparation was made for one of the greatest silk manufacturing villages ever projected in the United States. But the experiment ended with the production of the cocoons.

There came a frost,—a killing frost,—aye, a succession of killing frosts,—whereby myriads of mulberry

* This company was never incorporated and has long ceased to exist. It must not be confounded with the Woburn Agricultural and Mechanics Association, which was incorporated March 5, 1830, and which still exists. The volumes of Special Laws of Massachusetts, for the years 1836 and 1837, bristle with acts incorporating silk companies, but I have found none so early as 1835.

† The Woburn Public Library contains a copy of this report, which appears to have been the only one of this company ever printed.

trees perished untimely, and, like many an earlier, and many a later, bubble, this silk bubble finally burst, to the ruin of some and the grief of all who had invested their money therein. Young trees which had been bought for five dollars apiece, were sold as low as one dollar per hundred. The victims, of course, were laughed at by their neighbors, just as the dupes of the telephone speculators have been laughed at within the last year. Nevertheless, the present magnitude of the silk manufacture in this country shows that this Montvale enterprise might have proved a success. It failed, not because the *morus multicaulis*, or the *morus alba*, cannot live in New England, but because the special conditions required for the successful culture of these trees in our climate, were unknown to the directors. Such knowledge can only be acquired by successive experiments, many of which cannot but fail.

The silk manufactures of the United States now exceed \$35,000,000 annually, and their future growth is assured. In the development of such an industry, it was inevitable that many a promising enterprise should fail. The bold pioneers in all such industries ought to be honored as martyrs, rather than laughed at as "cranks."

On the eighth of October, 1838, a great sale of silk-farm property took place, at auction; and so ended this great experiment, which was designed to combine the culture of the mulberry tree and of the silk worm which feeds upon its leaves, with the spinning and weaving of tissues from the cocoons. At this auction sale, the late Daniel Ayer,—for whom Ayer's New City, in Lowell, was named,—bought sixty acres of the "Silk Farm" lands, for about \$8,000, and afterwards divided them and sold them for about \$14,000.

The India-Rubber Manufacture had been carried on with some measure of success, at Easton, at Roxbury, and at other places in Massachusetts, before it was attempted at Montvale. India-Rubber cloth had been found serviceable for carriage-tops, overcoats, and various other articles. When President Jackson visited Boston, and reviewed the militia upon the common, in 1834, the day being somewhat wet, he wore a suit of India-rubber, which had been presented to him by the manufacturers in Boston. But in spite of this first-class advertisement, the industry languished, because it was found that although the fabric was proof to water, it was not proof to heat, so that when two surfaces came together upon a warm day, they adhered, in consequence of the softening of the gum. Had the day on which Jackson first wore that India-rubber suit proved a warm one, instead of a wet one, had "the hero of New Orleans" found himself glued to his saddle in consequence of the melting of his unmentionables, the cause of India-rubber might have been put back twenty years by his fervid maledictions. But a process was now discovered by which this difficulty was overcome, and India-rubber made as impervious to heat as to water.

The same company which planted the mulberry trees at Montvale also erected a manufactory there, which was let to the Eagle India-Rubber Company. This company was incorporated by the Legislature, April 9, 1836, with a capital of \$50,000, and although not the earliest pioneer in this industry, it was destined to accomplish most important results. For these results it was largely indebted to Nathaniel Hayward, a native of Easton, who, while employed by the Eagle Company, at Montvale, in 1836, made the important discovery that by combining sulphur with the gum, India-rubber cloth

could be made impervious to heat. The circumstances under which this discovery was made, simple as they were, are well worth recording, for without this, or some other process of vulcanizing, the India-rubber industry could never have attained any great magnitude. I well remember listening, as a boy, while Mr. Hayward, whose house was within rifle-shot of my father's house, at Montvale, told the story of this discovery. Shortly before his death, in 1865, he caused this story to be printed in a pamphlet, a copy of which has been kindly sent to me by his son; and from it I quote:—

“Soon after they began work at Woburn, they expressed the wish that I would make some white aprons, thinking they would sell. This I attempted to do by using a compound of white lead, magnesia, and whiting, with equal parts of virgin or white rubber, dissolved in spirits of turpentine. The aprons looked pretty well, but when warmed would soften and stick, and, not being white enough to suit me, I exposed them to the fumes of sulphur, to make them whiter, taking the hint from having seen straw bonnets bleached in this manner. By this treatment, the rubber cloth became very white, and made elegant aprons. But in addition to superior whiteness, I noticed that these aprons did not soften and adhere, after being exposed to the fumes of sulphur, as they had done before such exposure. This gave me the first intimation of the power of sulphur to prevent rubber from becoming soft and adherent when warmed.”

This was in the year 1836, before the same discovery was made by Charles Goodyear. In 1838, Mr. Hayward sold this discovery to Mr. Goodyear for \$3,000,—a mere bagatelle compared with its actual value,—and allowed Goodyear to take out letters-patent for it, in his own name. Thus it has happened that Goodyear, and not Hayward, has come to be generally known as the discoverer of the process of vulcanizing India-rubber. It is only to do justice to Hayward, not to disparage

Goodyear, that I emphasize this fact. Mr. Goodyear did, indeed, make the same discovery himself, but at a later day than Hayward. Of Charles Goodyear I would utter none but words of praise. The house on Montvale Avenue, where he lived, and struggled, and sometimes almost starved, is within pistol-shot of my father's old-time abode; and any man who reads the story of his sacrifices and sufferings, so graphically related by Mr. Parton,* will yearn to make a pilgrimage to that house as to a Mecca shrine of genius.

The firm of Hayward and Humphrey had bought the business, stock, and machinery, of the Eagle India-Rubber Company, in 1837, before Mr. Hayward met Mr. Goodyear. In 1838, Mr. Goodyear purchased the same establishment, but did not long carry on the business with much success. He had not the practical mind to which Hayward owed his success in life.

In 1847, the Hayward Rubber Company was established at Colchester, Conn. Mr. Hayward then took up his abode in Colchester, and remained there until his death in 1865. There he acquired a handsome fortune, but his wealth never abated his activity. He continued to invent as long as he continued to live. One of his last inventions was the India-rubber pontoon, which proved so useful to our armies during the civil war, and which has been adopted by the armies of Europe. He was a large-minded man, who found little pleasure in merely making money; but great pleasure in applying it to useful purposes. His place is with those whom Lord Bacon extolled so highly and so justly,—with those who contribute “new commodities for the use of mankind.”

In the famous case of *Horace H. Day vs. Charles Goodyear*, in the United States Circuit Court for the

*In his *Lives of Distinguished Americans of Recent Times*.

District of New Jersey, in 1851 and 1852, the question of priority of discovery as between Hayward, Day's assignor, and Goodyear, was fiercely contested. The testimony was printed, and it fills a bulky octavo volume. Richard Collins, one of the witnesses, testified that in 1834 he was at Lowell, "engaged in getting up machinery for William Atkinson, for manufacturing India-rubber goods."

Samuel Sweetser, one of the directors before mentioned, built and occupied the stately dwelling-house which is seen from the car windows, across the pond near Montvale station. This house was afterwards occupied by Lieut. Darracott, who went from Lowell to the war, and was killed at the second battle of Bull Run. It is now occupied by the Rev. B. F. Whittemore, formerly chaplain of the Thirtieth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, and afterwards a Representative in Congress, from South Carolina.

In 1844, my father took the factory at Montvale, in which Hayward and Goodyear had worked out many of their experiments, converted it into a woolen mill, and carried on business there for some years with success. He removed to Lowell in 1847, and died in 1864. "The Eagle Factory," — as the building was called, — after various vicissitudes, finally met the same fate which befalls too many buildings in our times; it was destroyed by fire.

Upon revisiting Montvale, not long since, my recollections of these enterprizes were renewed, and hence this paper. At the same time, I also visited the village of North Woburn, and the Historical Society which bears the name and occupies the birthplace of Count Rumford, upon which I would add a word.

Millions of persons have passed and repassed over the Boston and Lowell Railroad without having been

aware that they approached within a short distance of the birthplace of one of the marked men of destiny. Yet such is the fact. Sir Benjamin Thompson, more widely known as Count Rumford, was born in the village of North Woburn, about midway between Boston and Lowell, which, in remembrance of the celebrated count, ought properly to be called Rumford. The house of the count's nativity is still standing, and in tolerable preservation, though it is now more than a hundred and sixty years old. It is a wooden structure, two stories high, with a gambrel roof, surmounted by a sign, inscribed "Count Rumford's Birth-Place." Near it stands an Orthodox Congregational church, a Unitarian chapel, and a school-house, in which the Rumford School is kept. But nearer and dearer than any of these edifices are the old well, the old well-sweep, and a sound, serviceable bucket, the lineal successor of

" The old oaken bucket, the iron-bound bucket,
The moss-covered bucket which hung in the well "

when Count Rumford was a thirsty boy. Within pistol-shot of Rumford's birthplace is the grassy bed of the old Middlesex Canal, long since disused, but a work of considerable note in its time, built by Loammi Baldwin, of Woburn, Count Rumford's devoted life-long friend.

The house is open at all times to visitors, and a glance at the "Visitors' Book" discloses names of intelligent persons from different parts of the globe, who have made pilgrimages to Count Rumford's birthplace. This book contains the following memorandum:—

"In this house, on the 26th of March, 1753, was born that distinguished philosopher and statesman, Benjamin Thompson, better known as Count Rumford.

"Deeply impressed with the great service rendered by him to the cause of science and humanity, and mindful of the honor thereby

conferred upon his native town, it has seemed eminently proper that this ancient house, his birthplace, should be preserved as a monument to his memory.

“To hold and preserve this estate, and to collect and preserve books, manuscripts, objects of antique interest, and whatever may illustrate the life and times, and perpetuate the memory of Count Rumford, the Rumford Historical Association was incorporated, April 28, 1877.”

The annual meetings of this association are held in this house on the twenty-sixth of March, the anniversary of Count Rumford's birth. Among the many pilgrims to this house, in 1876, was Professor Tyndall, who last year published an elaborate article on Count Rumford, in the *Contemporary Review*, which was reprinted in *Choice Literature* and in *Littell's Living Age*.

In 1867, a bronze statue of Count Rumford, of heroic size, was erected in the city of Munich, which is much admired by tourists visiting the Bavarian capital. The people of Woburn, the descendants of those who compelled Count Rumford to find safety elsewhere, are now raising money by voluntary contributions to purchase a duplicate of this statue, to adorn the grounds of their public library. Well has it been said with reference to another: — “Our fathers stoned this prophet, and we build his sepulchre.”

One of those who befriended Count Rumford in the days of his troubles and persecutions, was the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker, rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and father of the late Mrs. Edson, wife of the rector of St. Anne's Church, whose own father suffered similar persecutions, about the same time, at Bridgewater.

*XIX. Great Freshets in Merrimack River, by
James B. Francis. Read Nov. 6, 1885.*

THE greatest freshet in Merrimack River of which there is any record or tradition, was in October, 1785. At that time there was no artificial obstruction to the free flow of the water at the head of Pawtucket Falls. The old bridge, with its massive piers and abutments, not having been built until seven years after, and the dam not until forty years after.

In the year 1836, the late Uriah A. Boyden, the eminent hydraulic engineer, was employed by the Proprietors of Locks and Canals on Merrimack River, to investigate the effect of the dam on the rise of the water in the river above. He made particular inquiry as to this freshet, and the following is an extract from his report to Mr. Kirk Boott, dated Nov. 17, 1836 : —

“In the fall of 1785, there was a great fresh in Merrimack River, which was much noticed. Numerous marks were made on trees and buildings, showing the heights of the river. The greater part of these trees have been felled, the buildings demolished or moved, and the observers have mostly died. But there is sufficient evidence remaining to show pretty clearly how high the river was at several places from Nashua to Lowell. This freshet was so much greater than any other which happened in the fall, about half a century ago, that there can be no doubt that people who describe the great fresh that happened in the fall, about that time, refer to the same.

“Mr. Jonathan Lund, of Nashua, showed me two places where he observed the heights of Nashua River during the freshet, about fifty years ago.

“One place is above, and the other below, where the Jackson Mills now are. There is eight and one-fourth inches difference in the hights of these places. I will suppose the true hight to be a mean between them. He says there was but little fall in Nashua River, from these places to the Merrimack.

“Mr. John Parham, of Tyngsboro’, an observing and intelligent gentleman, now in the ninetieth year of his age, observed the freshet of 1785 attentively. I will give you an extract respecting it, from his memorandum book:—‘On the 18th day of October, 1785, the weather being warm, the south wind blew; on the 19th and 20th days, the wind still blew from south very hard; on Thursday night, it rained fast; on Friday night and Saturday, making forty-eight hours, it rained fast, which caused a freshet on the river. On Friday, at dusk, the Little island was bare, and on Sunday night the river was in the field, and continued rising till Monday, the 24th day, being higher then than it was ever known.’ He says the weather was *very* nearly calm the day the river was at its highest, there being a *very* little southerly wind. Mr. Parham drove a nail into an apple tree to show the hight of the river. The wood had grown over this nail when I examined the tree last, Nov. 8, 1836, but the place of the nail was remembered very nearly; still, I had a strong desire to cut the tree to find it. But the tree was planted by Mr. Parham’s grandfather, it had fed six generations with delicious fruit, was yet productive, and too venerable to be marred by my hand.

“The tree being hollow, I put my hand into it and found the point of the nail projecting into the hollow, the hight of which agreed very well with the represented hight.

“Capt. Coburn Blood, of Dracut, noted the hight of Merrimack River during the freshet of 1785 pretty accurately. His best memorial of the hight of the water was a door stone, which was removed a short time since. He supposes the greatest hight of the river did not differ more than three inches from the hight of a point which he showed me.

“I have no data at hand for showing exactly how high Merrimack River was at the head of Pawtucket Falls, in the freshet of 1785. But I can show it nearly. Capt. E. Ford observed the hight of the river during the freshet, and showed me two marks, one of which was above, and the other below, the surface of the river. There is 3 feet 4 inches difference in the hights of these marks. I

have marked the hight on the profile at a mean between them. As I have shown the hight at a little distance above the falls, it is not very important to ascertain the hight at the falls."

In the profile accompanying Mr. Boyden's report the heights of the water above the level of the top of the present dam at the head of Pawtucket Falls, at several places, are given, with their respective distances from the dam, and are as follows:—

At Nashua,	14.44 miles from dam,	32 ft. 0 in.
" John Parham's,	5.31 " " "	19 " 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ "
" Capt. Coburn Blood's,	1.78 " " "	15 " 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
" the Dam	0.00 " " "	13 " 5 "

The height at the dam was not so accurately ascertained as at the other places. One of the points shown Mr. Boyden by Capt. Elisha Ford was twenty inches above the height I have given, and the other as much below; the actual height was, of course, somewhere between the two, but it may very well have been six inches higher or lower than given by Mr. Boyden, which is the average of the two heights shown him. Capt. Ford was an observing and reliable man, for many years the chief authority in matters relating to the river, in the neighborhood of Pawtucket Falls. He died May 23, 1855, aged seventy-seven years, and of course was about seven years old at the time of the great freshet in 1785.

On the twenty-fourth of October last, the centennial anniversary of the great freshet, I visited two of the high-water marks reported by Mr. Boyden.

The John Parham place, in Tyngsborough, is now occupied by his grandson, John P. Coburn, who showed me the remains of the apple tree in which the nail was driven. It is now little more than a rotten stump, and will soon disappear altogether. The house of Capt. Coburn

Blood is now occupied by Mr. William H. H. Durkee, who pointed out what he understands to be the mark of 1785, which is the top of the stone step to the door, on the east side of the house, the water having been a little over the step. It is said that Capt. Blood was born, always lived, and died in this house. The Blood family record is in possession of Mr. Orford R. Blood, a grandson of Capt. Coburn Blood, from which I find that he was born Sept. 15, 1759, and died March 29, 1855, and was consequently about twenty-six years old at the time of the freshet in 1785.

The freshet next in magnitude, of which I find any record or tradition, was on the twenty-third of April, 1852, when the high-water mark at the Guard Gates of Pawtucket Canal was fourteen feet one inch above the level of the top of the dam at the head of Pawtucket Falls. This is eight inches higher than the height as given by Mr. Boyden in the freshet of 1785, but it is not certain that it was not as high then as in 1852, for reasons above stated.

I think it is certain, however, that the quantity of water flowing in the river was somewhat greater in 1785, as the height at Nashua was about two feet higher in 1785 than in 1852, as I ascertained by inquiry, in 1852; the extra height in the latter year, at Lowell, if any, can be fully accounted for by the obstruction to the flow of the river at and near the head of Pawtucket Falls, which did not exist in 1785.

When Pawtucket Canal was enlarged in 1822 and 1823, in order to supply water for manufacturing purposes, the guard dam and gates were built of wood. In 1831, a freshet occurred, which created some alarm for their safety, and in the next year the guard dam was rebuilt in a very substantial manner, of stone, and the

gates were also renewed on a different plan. The height of the dam appears to have been determined by the height of the water in the freshet of 1785, as the top of the masonry was within a few inches of the height as given by Mr. Boyden in his report of 1836. In 1847, when the guard dam and the gates of the Northern Canal were built, the height of water for which it was advisable to provide was investigated anew, and it was concluded that a height considerably greater than the height of the water in the freshet of 1785 should be provided for, as it was certain that with the same volume of water then flowing in the river, the height of the water would now be considerably greater at the head of Pawtucket Falls, on account of the obstruction to the free flow caused by the dam and the piers and abutments of the bridge. It was convenient to build the guard dam of the Northern Canal to the height of nineteen feet above the top of the dam at the head of Pawtucket Falls, in order to conform to the bridge, and it was so built, and the next year, — 1848, — the guard dam and lock at the Pawtucket Canal was raised to the same height. The great gate in the guard lock was hung in 1850, two years only before the freshet of 1852, when it was dropped, and is the only occasion when it has been of service; but it is kept in readiness for use at any time. The new gate was placed across the lock, about forty-six feet below the old gates, which were not changed, but were supposed to be sufficient to hold until the water attained the height it was in 1785, or to about thirteen and a half feet above the top of the dam, but it proved to be otherwise. At three o'clock in the morning of April 22, 1852, the water found its way round the heel-post of the westerly gate, the height of the water at the time being eleven feet ten

and a quarter inches above the top of the dam. Preparations were immediately made to drop the new gate, which was done half an hour afterwards. The water continued to rise until one o'clock the next morning, rising in the interval two feet two and three quarters inches, or to the height of fourteen feet one inch above the top of the dam, which was the maximum height attained in this freshet, or indeed any other of which we have any record or tradition.

From the records kept at the guard gates of Pawtucket Canal, I find there have been six freshets since 1852 when the height of the water has exceeded ten feet above the top of the dam at the head of Pawtucket Falls, viz.: —

1859, March 20, —	10 feet 8 inches above top of dam.
1862, April 20, —	10 “ $9\frac{1}{2}$ “ “ “ “
1865, March 19, —	10 “ 9 “ “ “ “
1869, Oct. 6, —	10 “ $3\frac{3}{4}$ “ “ “ “
1870, April 21, —	13 “ $1\frac{3}{4}$ “ “ “ “
1878, Dec. 12, —	10 “ 11 “ “ “ “

Previous to 1852 the records are incomplete, and I find no account of any freshet in which the water attained the height of ten feet above the top of the dam, except in 1785, although I have no doubt some occurred.

April 18, 1831, a freshet of the height of nine feet eleven inches is recorded, which undoubtedly was the occasion above referred to, that led to the rebuilding of the guard dam of Pawtucket Canal in 1832.

XX. The Discount Banks of Lowell, by Charles Hovey. Read Feb. 4, 1886.

It has often been stated by writers for the Old Residents, that one of the objects of the Association is to place in a permanent form such facts of the city as may in the future be of interest. It is also an object of the writers to edify the members by reading the facts at the quarterly meetings, before they shall have been printed for preservation.

The subject chosen for this paper, if it should be confined strictly to banking business and statistics, would of necessity be dry and uninteresting; therefore, these will mostly be avoided, and the edification, if any, must be found in recalling the names of citizens who have been connected with the several banks, and who, perhaps, will represent as well as any class can, the prominent business men of the city who have been active in the sixty years of our existence.

Active labor with a view to the manufacture of cotton cloth, was begun in April, 1822, when Hugh Cummiskey, the contractor, arrived, having walked from Boston with thirty men, to enlarge the old and open new canals, to run the mills. The town of Lowell was organized in 1826, but its business did not demand a bank until March, 1828, when the

LOWELL BANK

was incorporated. The following persons were named in the act of incorporation, viz.:—Phineas Whiting,

Samuel Bachelder, Thomas Hurd, Daniel Richardson, Kirk Boott, Paul Moody, Josiah Crosby, Nathaniel Wright.

A few of our members will recognize in this list personal acquaintances, but since the recent death of Dr. John O. Green, our late President, there is not one remaining in our Association who knew them all as he did.

By vote, the bills to be issued should not exceed the amount of capital paid in. The first board of directors, in 1828, were Nathaniel Wright, Josiah B. French, Kirk Boott, Joshua Bennett, Jona. Morse 2d, Phineas Whiting, Thomas Hurd, Amos Whitney, Benjamin F. Varnum, Daniel Shattuck.

The directors elected afterwards were Cyril French, 1829; James Russell, '32; Harlin Pillsbury, '34; John Butterfield, '35; Thomas Nesmith, '36; George H. Carleton, '39; John O. Green, '40; Oliver M. Whipple, '41; Stephen Cushing, '41; Jonathan Spalding, '41; Jeremiah P. Jewett, '42; George Bragdon, '42; Joseph B. Varnum, '43; James G. Carney, '46; Daniel Cushing, '54; Hapgood Wright '54; Samuel L. Dana, '57; Edward Tuck, '59; Frederick Ayer, '59; Phineas Whiting, '59; W. H. P. Wright, '59; Joel Spalding, '59; John Waugh, '59; Jonathan P. Folsom, '61; Luther W. Faulkner, '64; Willard A. Brown, '65; Albert G. Cook, '69; William Walker, '70; Garrett J. Bradt, '73; Andrew F. Jewett, '76; Jacob Nichols, '77; Edward T. Rowell, '78; John Davis, '80; Henry A. Hildreth, '81; George F. Penniman, '83; William H. Bent, '84; Edward M. Tucke, '86; Artemas B. Woodworth, '86.

Of the forty-eight names enumerated, thirty-two have died. Four of the present board are sons of men who were directors in the preceding generation.

Presidents,—Nathaniel Wright, thirty years; James G. Carney, one year; John O. Green, two years; Joshua Bennett, four years; Edward Tuck, nineteen years; John Davis, since 1884.

Cashiers,—Jas. G. Carney, seventeen years; David Hyde, four years; John L. Ordway, fourteen years; Charles M. Williams, twenty-two years,—now in office.

The chartered capital was \$200,000, and it has never been changed.

To illustrate the modes of doing banking business at this early period, the following votes are copied from the records, viz.:—

“That all bills or money sent by the stages, from this bank to the Globe Bank, in Boston, shall be taken from the vault by the cashier, and delivered to the stageman, the morning the stage starts.”

Another vote:—

“That the following defaced bills, viz.,—6 tens, 47 fives, 103 ones, 41 twos, and 41 threes, amounting to \$683, be now burnt in presence of this board.”

The Lowell Bank began its business in the brick block on Merrimack Street, next west of Worthen Street. For many years the building was known as “Bank Block.”

In December, 1833, the president was authorized to procure a lease of a room prepared for banking, in “Wyman’s Exchange,” on Central Street.

The bank occupied the last named room until the “Lowell Institution for Savings,” with which it was intimately connected, erected its building on Shattuck Street, to which it removed in 1845.

It is remembered that the original “Wyman’s Exchange,” having two fronts largely of glass, was deemed unsafe. There is a tradition that the first cashier, who

was a timid and careful man, always intended to run into the bank vault whenever the building should fall. It stood, however, until 1878, when it was carefully taken down, and the present permanent structure was erected. Upon its completion, the Lowell Bank moved into the corner room in the second story, where it is now located.

THE RAILROAD BANK

was incorporated in 1831, the names of Ebenezer Appleton, Ebenezer Chadwick, William Lawrence, Kirk Boott, Lemuel Pope, and John P. Robinson, appearing in the "act."

Several of these names will be recognized as having been residents of Boston and as owners in the manufacturing corporations. Indeed it was the avowed object of these gentlemen and their associates, to establish a bank for the more especial use of the corporations. For nearly forty years, the money for the monthly pay-rolls was almost exclusively obtained from this bank, and it was here, as a rule, that they did all their banking business.

The first board of directors was elected soon after the "act" had become a law, and was as follows, viz.:—Luther Lawrence, Paul Moody, Elisha Glidden, Henry Cabot, Joshua Swan, Kirk Boott, Ebenezer Appleton.

Their successors have been Robert Means, 1831; Israel Whitney, '31; William Austin, '33; Seth Ames, '33; John Clark, '33; Benjamin F. French, '36; John Aiken, '37; David Dana, '37; George Brownell, '37; Pelham W. Warren, '39; Homer Bartlett, '39; Charles T. Appleton, '39; Linus Child, '45; and here we pause to say that not one of the persons so far named is now

living. Then follow the names Sewall G. Mack, '45; Charles Hovey, '46; Emory Washburn, '48; William A. Burke, '49; Oliver H. Perry, '49; John Wright, '49; George Motley, '50; Charles L. Tilden, '56; Samuel Fay, '61; George Ripley, '61; James B. Francis, '61; S. W. Stickney, '65; J. W. P. Abbott, '65; Jacob Rogers, '69; F. F. Battles, '70; Daniel Hussey, '70; A. G. Cumnock, '78; of the last list of seventeen names, only nine are living, and they constitute the present board.

The first meeting of directors was held in the office of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company, Kirk Boott being the chairman, and Ebenezer Appleton the secretary.

The presidents have been Luther Lawrence, six years; Pelham W. Warren, sixteen years; S. W. Stickney, twenty-two years; Jacob Rogers. The first three named died while in office, and the other has been the active president eleven years since.

There have been five cashiers:—Pelham W. Warren, eight years; S. W. Stickney, fourteen years; John F. Rogers, seventeen years; James S. Hovey, fifteen years; Frank P. Haggett, now in office. The first two were respectively elected to succeed deceased presidents, the third and fourth died after long service, and the last succeeded Mr. J. S. Hovey, and is now in office.

At one of the early meetings of the directors, a committee reported that "a suitable banking room can be hired of the Middlesex Company for a period of ten years, to be fitted with vaults and counters, in a building then being erected at the corner of Central and Hurd Streets, at an annual rent of seventy-five dollars and taxes." The bank located in the room described, and remained until it moved in 1836, to the building erected and owned by itself, at the corner of Merrimack and

John Streets, the site of the present "Five Cent Savings Bank."

In the autumn of 1845, it removed to the Savings Bank Building on Shattuck Street, and from thence, in the winter of 1859, to "Carleton Block," now known as "Odd Fellows' Block," on Merrimack Street.

In 1873, it again removed to the second story of the building owned by "Mechanics Savings Bank," on Merrimack Street, where it is now located.

The original capital was \$200,000. At intervals of about two years, as the corporations increased in number and extent, the capital was three times enlarged in the same amount each time.

In company with all the other State banks, it suspended specie payments in 1837, 1857, and 1861. Simultaneously with the other banks, it resumed, after brief periods of suspension. So far as known, only one attempt has been made to break into the vault (Feb. 15, 1841), and that was unsuccessful.

In April, 1885, owing to the diminished calls from the corporations and the general plethora of money, the capital was reduced to \$400,000, and an equal sum was paid back to the stockholders, besides a dividend of fifteen per cent. accumulated surplus.

This bank has never omitted to pay a semi-annual dividend.

THE CITY BANK

was incorporated in March, 1836, with a capital of \$150,000. The names of the incorporators were Joseph Locke, Jonathan Tyler, and John Nesmith. By the "act," all the capital was required to be paid in before Jan. 1, 1837.

In February, 1837, another act was passed, extending the time to the first Monday in October of that year.

It is remembered that a Mr. Dibblee came from New York to be the cashier of this bank, and was resident here for several months. It was a year of great financial calamity, when many of the business enterprises exploded; consequently the bank never started in business.

The statute law then required that all banks should hold in their vaults an amount of specie equal to the sum represented in the bills issued; but, by common consent, the law was lightly regarded, and it was not uncommon for banks to make temporary loans to each other. It has been said an older bank had loaned to the City Bank a keg of specie, and that the president of the older bank sat upon it while the managers of the new bank took the required oath.

THE APPLETON BANK

was chartered in 1847, and began business the same year, it being the next after the Railroad Bank, which started sixteen years before.

The original capital was \$100,000, but it was soon doubled, and when it became a national bank, in 1865, it was again increased to \$300,000, which sum has ever since been the capital.

The first directors were John A. Knowles, Isaac Farrington, J. B. French, John Nesmith, Abner W. Buttrick, Sidney Spalding, George Bragdon, Ransom Reed, John W. Graves.

Messrs. Isaac Farrington and George Bragdon have been elected every year since the organization, and are the only survivors of the original board.

The other directors have been William A. Richardson, 1853; William Nichols, '55; Charles B. Richmond, '59; William L. North, '60; Addison Putnam, '60; William S. Bennett, '66; Alden B. Buttrick, '67; William E. Livingston, '72; D. W. C. Farrington, '73; Henry H. Wilder, '74; John F. Kimball, '75; Freeman B. Shedd, '83. All but Messrs. Richmond and North survive, and except Richardson, who resigned, constitute the present board.

J. A. Knowles, Esq., was the first president. He held the office for twenty-one years, and until his sight became so impaired as to compel him to decline a reëlection in 1876. J. B. French was elected to succeed him, but his health was such as to preclude any active duty. He died in the following August, and was succeeded by John F. Kimball, who is still in office.

The three presidents named are all the bank has ever had.

The cashiers have been John A. Buttrick, for twelve years; John F. Kimball, eighteen; E. K. Perley, nine years.

The dividends are made quarterly, and have averaged ten per cent. per annum on the capital.

The gross sum divided, from the beginning, is equal to three times the sum of its capital.

There have been no changes in the board of directors, except to supply vacancies caused by death.

THE PRESCOTT BANK

was incorporated in 1850, with a capital of \$200,000, increased to \$300,000 in 1865, when it became a national bank.

Its first directors were Joel Adams, Samuel Burbank, Daniel S. Richardson, Joshua Converse, Charles B. Coburn, Andrew C. Wheelock, Artemas L. Brooks, James H. Rand, Elijah M. Read, Rufus Clement, Isaac W. Scribner.

The directors since : — Thomas Talbot, 1851 ; James Dinsmoor, '54 ; John L. Cheney, '54 ; Benjamin Adams, '56 ; Silas Tyler, Jr., '56 ; Edward F. Sherman, '58 ; Charles Stott, '58 ; Joseph A. Brabrook, '65 ; Hapgood Wright, '66 ; Robert H. Butcher, '69 ; Alden B. Richardson, '69 ; John K. Chase, '71 ; Charles G. Sargent, '71 ; Albert Wheeler, '72 ; Thomas Nesmith, 2d, '76 ; John W. Abbott, '77 ; George H. Bartlett, '77 ; Charles H. Coburn, '78 ; N. M. Wright, '79 ; Daniel Gage, '79 ; E. W. Hoyt, '79 ; C. P. Talbot, '79 ; George F. Richardson, '81 ; Chas. A. Stott, '84 ; W. A. Ingham, '84 ; A. A. Coburn, '85.

Presidents, — Joel Adams, Chas. B. Coburn, Daniel S. Richardson.

Cashiers, — Artemas S. Tyler, twenty-two years ; Alonzo A. Coburn, fourteen years.

THE WAMESIT BANK

was incorporated April 28, 1853, with a capital of \$100,000, which has been increased three times, each for \$50,000. The present capital is \$250,000.

The first directors were Sidney Spalding, Horace Howard, Ignatius Tyler, Charles H. Wilder, Abiel Rolfe, Abram French, Henry C. Howe, Samuel Horn, Alpheus R. Brown.

The following gentlemen have been elected directors since : — A. L. Waite, 1855 ; Josiah Gates, '57 ; William A. Richardson, '59 ; Jacob Kelley, '60 ; Horace J. Adams, '61 ; Charles F. Flint, '62 ; David Whitney, '62 ;

Horace B. Shattuck, '63; Francis Jewett, '64; George Runels, '64; Daniel Churchill, '66; William T. Durrell, '66; Charles E. Paige, '67; Charles Whitney, '67; A. F. Wright, '67; Samuel Kidder, Jr., '69; Seth B. Hall, '75; P. P. Perham, '79; W. H. Wiggin, '81; J. W. Bennett, '82; Prescott C. Gates, '83.

The presidents have been Horace Howard, William A. Richardson, Charles Whitney.

The cashiers have been John H. Buttrick and G. W. Knowlton.

Messrs. Samuel Horn and Henry C. Howe are the only living members of the original board.

MERCHANTS BANK

was incorporated in 1854, with a capital of \$100,000, which has been increased three times, and is now \$400,000.

The presidents have been Harlan Pillsbury, ten years; Royal Southwick, eight months; Hocum Hosford, two years; H. W. B. Wightman, four years; Arthur P. Bonney, six years.

The first directors are named as follows:—Thomas Nesmith, Albert Wheeler, W. W. Wyman, Daniel Swan, Joseph Bedlow, Samuel T. Lancaster, George F. Richardson, Hocum Hosford, Isaac S. Morse, Asa Hildreth.

The other directors are given, with the year of their election:—Alden B. Richardson, 1865; Joseph H. Ely, '65; Horace J. Adams, '65; J. N. Marshall, '65; William Kelly, '66; James C. Ayer, '68; D. W. C. Farrington, '68; George H. Wellman, '69; O. H. Moulton, '70; W. H. Anderson, '70; William Kittredge, '71; A. G. Cumnock, '72; C. H. Latham, '74; H. R. Barker, '75; George Runels, '75; L. J. Eames, '75; Albert G. Cook,

'75; Amasa Pratt, '78; A. P. Bonney, '80; William Shepard, '80; Arthur G. Pollard, '82; William S. Lamson, '85; Albert F. Nichols, '85.

The cashiers have been Eliphalet Hills, one year; J. N. Pierce, Jr., eighteen years; Charles W. Eaton, eleven years; Walter W. Johnson, two years, and now in office.

MANUFACTURERS BANK.

A bank by this name was organized under the statute law, in 1861, — twenty-five years ago, and before the existence of any National Banking law. Its officers were elected, the late Dr. John O. Green being the president. The records are preserved, and it is now prepared to begin business whenever circumstances will warrant.

FIRST NATIONAL BANK.

The First National Bank, of Lowell, was organized Feb. 16, 1864, with a capital of \$250,000, and remains unchanged. Its early history is expressed in its corporate name. It is also the last bank organization in Lowell.

The presidents have been Hon. Arthur P. Bonney, until his resignation in 1880, and Hon. James C. Abbott since that time.

The cashiers have been George F. Hunt, two years; George B. Allen, fourteen years; Walter M. Sawyer, five years, and now in office.

The directors have been Arthur P. Bonney, 1864; Gilman Kimball, '64; James C. Abbott, '64; Ephraim Brown, '64; Joshua M. Daniels, '64; James C. Ayer, '64; James K. Fellows, '64; Isaac Place, '64; Henry M.

Hooke, '65; Joseph H. Ely, '64; Samuel N. Wood, '65; William H. Parker, '65; Patrick Dempsey, '69; Amos B. French, '70; Joseph S. Brown, '73; Albion C. Taylor, '80; Thomas Costello, '86; John Lennon, '86.

All of the banks in Lowell, prior to 1864, were chartered by the Legislature of Massachusetts. In 1863, a banking law was passed by Congress, practically compelling all the banks in the United States to adopt the national organization and to insert the word "National" in their corporate name. For obvious reasons, the Lowell Bank was permitted to use the prefix "Old," and has been ever since known as the Old Lowell National Bank.

The foregoing contains in brief all the important facts in regard to the discount banks of the city. The "Savings Banks," with a much larger aggregate, both of depositors and capital, may well be the subject of another paper by some member familiar with their operation.

*XXI. The Freshet of 1831. A Reminiscence, by
Alfred Gilman. Read Feb. 4, 1886.*

DURING the freshet in the spring of 1831, accompanied by my brother, Mark S. Gilman, I visited the guard locks when the Merrimack River, according to the statement recently made by Mr. Francis, had attained a height of nine feet eleven inches on the Pawtucket dam. The scene presented at that time was one of great and exciting interest. We found the water in the river high enough to allow a small stream of water to run over the embankment at the northerly end of the locks, where a sufficient force of laborers were busy throwing up a temporary embankment of earth to check the flow of the water. It was with intense interest that we watched the operation, well knowing that the water, if allowed to commence a gully on either side of the works, would sweep away the obstructions to its course, and be disastrous to a large portion of the town. The water in the river was still rising, and the very uncertainty of the height it would attain made the situation one of great anxiety.

The Proprietors of the Locks and Canals, or their agents, must have learned by traditional report concerning the great freshet of 1785, and have been thoroughly alive to the importance of taking effectual measures for the protection of the property at stake, in case of an inundation. A glance at the topography of Lowell dis-

plays a ridge or height of land commencing on Merrimack River, just above the ice-houses of Mr. Gage, extending thence to Middlesex Street, at the Franklin school-house, thence down the southerly side of that street to Concord River. The territory on the northerly side of this ridge, bounded by the Merrimack and Concord Rivers (excepting one height of land commencing near the head of the canal and terminating at Salem Street, and another near the guard locks on Broadway, running through to School Street), would have been under water. There is a difference in the height of the water above the Pawtucket dam and of that at the mouth of the Concord River, of thirty-two feet, and the trend of the land is an incline of over thirty feet to the mile toward the latter.

These facts render the supposition probable that at some time in the remote past, Merrimack River made a channel during a freshet, through this territory. Evidences of this have come to light in excavating for foundations and cellars of buildings. Warned by the freshet of 1831, "the next year," says Mr. Francis, "the guard dam was built in a very substantial manner, of stone." We have only to allow the imagination to clothe the Merrimack in 1831 with the volume of water that overflowed its banks in the spring of 1852, when it reached a level of fourteen feet one inch above the dam at Pawtucket Falls, or four feet two inches higher than the freshet of April, 1831, to witness a scene of destruction in 1831 that would have paralyzed the industry of the people and materially injured the success of a great manufacturing enterprise.

In 1847, the dam and gates of the Northern Canal were built by Mr. Francis, nineteen feet above the dam at Pawtucket Falls. The next year the guard dam and

locks at the Pawtucket Canal were raised to the same height. Four years later, in April, 1852, occurred a freshet that was to test these works and thoroughly evince their necessity.

In 1856, twenty-three prominent citizens of Lowell presented J. B. Francis with an elegant silver pitcher and salver, as an acknowledgment of his prudence and foresight in providing a sufficient guard against the freshet of 1852.

*XXII. The Middlesex Canal. Read May 6,
1886, by Benjamin Walker.*

[THE following papers relating to the Middlesex Canal and its tributary interests, prepared respectively by Lorin L. Dame, A. M., of Somerville, Mass., and Gen. George Stark, of Nashua, N. H., although not originally written for the Old Residents' Historical Association, are so replete with interest, in connection with the early history of Lowell, that it has been deemed important to have the same included in the publications of this Association.]

The curious traveller may still trace with little difficulty the line of the old Middlesex Canal, with here and there a break, from the basin at Charlestown to its junction with the Merrimack at Middlesex Village. Like an accusing ghost, it never strays far from the Boston and Lowell Railroad, to which it owes its untimely end.

At Medford, the Woburn sewer runs along one portion of its bed, the Spot Pond water-pipes another. The tow-path, at one point, marks the course of the defunct Mystic Valley Railroad; at others, it has been metamorphosed into sections of the highway; at others, it serves as a cow-path or woodland lane; at Wilmington, the stone sides of a lock have become the lateral walls of a dwelling-house cellar.

Judging the canal by the pecuniary recompense it brought its projectors it must be admitted a dismal failure; yet its inception was none the less a comprehensive, far-reaching scheme, which seemed to assure a

future of ample profits and great public usefulness. Inconsiderable as this work may appear compared with the modern achievements of engineering, it was, for the times, a gigantic undertaking, beset with difficulties scarcely conceivable to-day. Boston was a small town of about twenty thousand inhabitants; Medford, Woburn, and Chelmsford were insignificant villages; and Lowell was as yet unborn, while the valley of the Merrimack, northward into New Hampshire, supported a sparse agricultural population. But the outlook was encouraging. It was a period of rapid growth and marked improvements. The subject of closer communication with the interior early became a vital question. Turnpikes, controlled by corporations, were the principal avenues over which country produce, lumber, fire-wood, and building-stone found their way to the little metropolis. The cost of entertainment at the various country inns, the frequent tolls, and the inevitable wear and tear of teaming, enhanced very materially the price of all these articles. The Middlesex Canal was the first step towards the solution of the problem of cheap transportation. The plan originated with the Hon. James Sullivan, who was for six years a judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, attorney-general from 1790 to 1807, and governor in 1807 and 1808, dying while holding the latter office.

A brief glance at the map of the New England States will bring out in bold relief the full significance of Sullivan's scheme. It will be seen that the Merrimack River, after pursuing a southerly course as far as Middlesex Village, turns abruptly to the northeast. A canal from Charlestown mill-pond to this bend of the river, a distance of $27\frac{1}{4}$ miles, would open a continuous water-route of eighty miles to Concord, N. H. From this point, taking advantage of Lake Sunapee, a canal

could easily be run in a northwesterly direction to the Connecticut at Windsor, Vt.; and thence making use of intermediate streams, communication could be opened with the St. Lawrence. The speculative mind of Sullivan dwelt upon the pregnant results that must follow the connection of Boston with New Hampshire and possibly Vermont and Canada. He consulted his friend, Col. Baldwin, sheriff of Middlesex, who had a natural taste for engineering, and they came to the conclusion that the plan was feasible. Should the undertaking succeed between Concord and Boston, the gradual increase in population and traffic would in time warrant the completion of the programme. Even should communication never be established beyond Concord, the commercial advantages of opening to the market the undeveloped resources of upper New Hampshire would be a sufficient justification. Accordingly, James Sullivan, Loammi Baldwin, Jonathan Porter, Samuel Swan, and five members of the Hall family at Medford, petitioned the General Court for an act of incorporation. A charter was granted, bearing date of June 22, 1793, "incorporating James Sullivan, Esq., and others, by the name of the Proprietors of the Middlesex Canal," and on the same day was signed by His Excellency John Hancock, Governor of the Commonwealth. By this charter the proprietors were authorized to lay such assessments from time to time as might be required for the construction of the canal.

At their first meeting the proprietors intrusted the management of the corporation to a board of thirteen members, who were to choose a president and vice presidents from their own number, the entire board subject to annual election. Boston capitalists subscribed freely, and Russell, Gore, Barrell, Craigie, and Brooks appear

among the earliest directors. This board organized on the eleventh of October by the choice of James Sullivan as president, and Col. Baldwin and John Brooks (afterwards Gov. Brooks) as vice-presidents. The first step was to make the necessary surveys between the Charlestown basin and the Merrimack at Chelmsford; but the science of engineering was in its infancy, and it was difficult to find a competent person to undertake the task. At length Samuel Thompson, of Woburn, was engaged to make a preliminary survey; but the directors, not wholly satisfied with his report, afterwards secured the services of Samuel Weston, an eminent English engineer, then employed in Pennsylvania, on the Potomac canals. His report, made Aug. 2, 1794, was favorable; and it is interesting to compare his figures with those of Mr. Thompson. As calculated by Thompson, the ascent from Medford bridge to the Concord River, at Billerica, was found to be $68\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the actual difference in level, as found by Weston, was 104 feet. By Thompson's survey there was a further ascent of $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet to the Merrimack; when, in fact, the water at Billerica bridge is almost 25 feet above the Merrimack at Chelmsford.

Col. Baldwin, who superintended the construction of the canal, removed the first turf, Sept. 10, 1794. The progress was slow and attended with many embarrassments. The purchase of land from more than one hundred proprietors demanded skilful diplomacy. Most of the lands used for the canal were acquired by voluntary sale, and conveyed in fee-simple to the corporation. Sixteen lots were taken under authority of the Court of Sessions; while for thirteen neither deed nor record could be found when the corporation came to an end. Some of the land was never paid for, as the owner

refused to accept the sum awarded. The compensation ranged from \$150 an acre in Medford to \$25 in Billerica. The numerous conveyances are all in Sullivan's handwriting.

Labor was not easily procured, probably from the scarcity of laborers, as the wages paid, \$10 a month and board, were presumably as much as could be earned in manual labor elsewhere. "An order was sent to England for a levelling instrument made by S. & W. Jones, of London, and this was the only instrument used for engineering purposes after the first survey by Weston." Two routes were considered; the rejected route was forty years later selected for the Lowell Railroad. The canal, 30 feet wide, 4 feet deep, with twenty locks, seven aqueducts, and crossed by fifty bridges, was, in 1802, sufficiently completed for the admission of water, and the following year was opened to public navigation from the Merrimack to the Charles. Its cost, about \$500,000, of which one-third was for land damages, was but little more than the estimate. Commencing at Charlestown mill-pond, it passed through Medford, crossing the Mystic by a wooden aqueduct of 100 feet, to Horn Pond in Woburn. Traversing Woburn and Wilmington it crossed the Shawshine by an aqueduct of 137 feet, and struck the Concord, from which it received its water, at Billerica Mills. Entering the Concord by a stone guard-lock, it crossed, with a floating tow-path, and passed out on the northern side through another guard-lock; thence it descended 27 feet, in a course of $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles, through Chelmsford to the Merrimack, making its entire length $27\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

The proprietors made Charlestown bridge the eastern terminus for their boats, but ultimately communication was opened with the markets and wharves upon the

harbor, through Mill Creek, over a section of which Blackstone Street now extends.

As the enterprise had the confidence of the business community, money for prosecuting the work had been procured with comparative ease. The stock was divided into eight hundred shares, and among the original stockholders appear the names of Ebenezer and Dudley Hall, Oliver Wendall, John Adams, of Quincy, Peter C. Brooks, of Medford, and Andrew Cragie, of Cambridge. The stock had steadily advanced from \$25 a share in the autumn of 1794 to \$473 in 1803, the year the canal was opened, touching \$500 in 1804. Then a decline set in, a few dollars at a time, till 1816, when its market value was \$300 with few takers, although the canal was in successful operation, and, in 1814, the obstructions in the Merrimack had been surmounted, so that canal boats locking into the river at Chelmsford, had been poled up stream as far as Concord.

Fire-wood and lumber always formed a very considerable item in the business of the canal. The navy-yard at Charlestown and the ship-yards on the Mystic, for many years relied upon the canal for the greater part of the timber used in shipbuilding, and work was sometimes seriously retarded by low water in the Merrimack, which interfered with transportation. The supply of oak and pine about Lake Winnipiseogee, and along the Merrimack and its tributaries, was thought to be practically inexhaustible. In the opinion of Daniel Webster, the value of this timber had been increased \$5,000,000 by the canal. Granite from Tyngsborough, and agricultural products from a great extent of fertile country, found their way along this channel to Boston; while the return boats supplied taverns and country stores with their annual stock of goods. The receipts

from tolls, rents, etc., were steadily increasing, amounting, in

1812, to	\$12,600
1813, "	16,800
1814, "	25,700
1815, "	29,200
1816, "	32,600

Yet, valuable, useful and productive as the canal had proved itself, it had lost the confidence of the public, and with a few exceptions, of the proprietors themselves. The reason for this state of sentiment can easily be shown. The general depression of business on account of the embargo and the war of 1812 had its effect upon the canal. In the deaths of Gov. Sullivan and Col. Baldwin, in the same year, 1808, the enterprise was deprived of the wise and energetic counsellors to whom it owed its existence.

The aqueducts and most of the locks, being built of wood, required large sums for annual repairs; the expenses arising from imperfections in the banks, and from the erection of toll-houses and public houses for the accommodation of the boatmen, were considerable; but the heaviest expenses were incurred in opening the Merrimack for navigation. From Concord, N. H., to the head of the canal the river has a fall of 123 feet, necessitating various locks and canals. The Middlesex Canal Corporation contributed to the building of the Wicasee Locks and Canals, \$12,000; Union Locks and Canals, \$49,932; Hookset Canal, \$6,750; Bow Canal and Locks, \$14,115, making a sum total of \$82,797 to be paid from the income of the Middlesex Canal.

The constant demand for money in excess of the incomes had proved demoralizing. Funds had been raised

from time to time by lotteries. In the Columbian "Centinel and Massachusetts Federalist" of Aug. 15, 1804, appears an advertisement of the Amoskeag Canal Lottery, 6,000 tickets at \$5, with an enumeration of prizes. The committee, consisting of Phillips Payson, Samuel Swan, Jr., and Loammi Baldwin, Jr., appealed to the public for support, assuring the subscribers that all who did not draw prizes would get the full value of their money in the reduced price of fuel.

In 1816, the Legislature of Massachusetts granted the proprietors of the canal, in consideration of its usefulness to the public, two townships of land in the district of Maine, near Moosehead Lake. This State aid, however, proved of no immediate service, as purchasers could not be found for several years for property so remote. Appeals to capitalists, lotteries, and State aid proved insufficient; the main burden fell upon the stockholders. In accordance with the provisions of the charter, assessments had been levied, as occasion required, up to 1816, ninety-nine in number, amounting to \$670 per share; and the corporation was still staggering under a debt of \$64,000. Of course, during all this time, no dividends could be declared.

Under these unpromising conditions a committee, consisting of Josiah Quincy, Joseph Hall, and Joseph Coolidge, Jr., was appointed to devise the appropriate remedy. "In the opinion of your committee," the report reads, "the real value of the property, at this moment, greatly exceeds the market value, and many years will not elapse before it will be considered among the best of all practicable monied investments. The directors contemplate no further extension of the canal. *The work is done*, both the original and subsidiary canals. . . . Let the actual incomes of the canal be

as great as they may, so long as they are consumed in payment of debts and interest on loans, the aspect of the whole is that of embarrassment and mortgage. The present rates of income, if continued, and there is every rational prospect, not only of its continuance, but of its great and rapid increase, will enable the corporation,—when relieved of its present liabilities,—at once to commence a series of certain, regular, and satisfactory dividends.” They accordingly recommended a final assessment of \$80 per share, completely to extinguish all liabilities. This assessment, the one hundredth since the commencement, was levied in 1817, making a sum total of \$600,000, extorted from the long-suffering stockholders. If to this sum the interest of the various assessments be added, computed to Feb. 1, 1819, the date of the first dividend, the actual cost of each share is found to have been \$1,455.25.

The prosperity of the canal property now seemed fully assured. The first dividend, though only \$15, was the promise of golden showers in the near future, and the stock once more took an upward flight. From 1819 to 1836 were the palmy days of the canal, untroubled with debts, and subject to very moderate expenses for annual repairs and management.

It is difficult to ascertain the whole number of boats employed at any one time. Many were owned and run by the proprietors of the canal, and many were constructed and run by private parties who paid the regular tolls for whatever merchandise they transported. Boats belonging to the same parties were conspicuously numbered, like railway cars to-day. From “Regulations relative to the Navigation of the Middlesex Canal,” a pamphlet published in 1830, it appears that boats were required to be not less than 40 feet nor more than 75

feet in length, and not less than 9 feet nor more than $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width. Two men, a driver and steersman, usually made up the working force; the boats, however, that went up the Merrimack, required three men, one to steer and two to pole. The Lowell boats carried twenty tons of coal; fifteen tons were sufficient freight for Concord. When the water in the Merrimack was low, not more than six or seven tons could be taken up the river. About 1830, the boatmen received \$15 per month.

Lumber was transported in rafts of about 75 feet long and 9 feet wide, and these rafts, not exceeding ten in number, were often united in "bands." A band of seven to ten rafts required the services of five men, including the driver. Boats were drawn by horses, and lumber by oxen; and "luggage boats" were required to make two and a half miles an hour, while "passage boats" attained a speed of four miles. Boats of the same class, and going the same way, were not allowed to pass each other, thus making "racing" impossible on the staid waters of the old canal. Whenever a boat approached a lock, the conductor sounded his horn to secure the prompt attention of the lock-tender; but due regard was paid to the religious sentiment of New England. Travelling in the canal being permitted on Sundays, "in consideration of the distance from home at which those persons using it generally are, it may be reasonably expected that they should not disturb those places of public worship near which they pass, nor occasion any noise to interrupt the tranquility of the day. Therefore, it is established that no *Signal-Horn* shall be used or blown on Sundays."

The tariff varied greatly from year to year. In 1827, the rate from Lowell to Boston was \$2.00 the

gross ton, but many articles were carried on much lower terms.

On account of liability of damage to the banks of the canal, all navigation ceased at dark; hence, at every lock, or series of locks, a tavern was established. These were all owned by the corporation, and were often let to the lock-tender, who eked out his income by the accommodation of boatmen and horses. The Bunker Hill Tavern, in Charlestown, situated so as to accommodate both county and canal travel, was leased in 1830, for \$350; in 1838, it let for \$500. The Horn Pond House, at Woburn, in 1838, was leased for \$700. In 1825, a two-story dwelling-house, 36 x 18, built at a cost of \$1,400, for the accommodation of boatmen and raftsmen, at Charlestown, rented, with stable attached, for \$140. In all these cases, the real estate was supposed to pay ten per cent.

Some of these canal-taverns established a wide reputation for good cheer, and boatmen contrived to be overtaken by night in their vicinity. Sometimes fifteen or twenty boats would be detained at one of these favorite resorts, and a jolly crowd fraternized in the primitive bar-room. The temperance sentiment had not yet taken a firm hold in New England. "Flip" was the high-toned beverage of those days; but "black-strap," a compound of rum and molasses, sold at three cents a glass, was the particular "vanity" of the boatmen. In the smaller taverns, a barrel of old Medford, surmounted by a pitcher of molasses, scorning the flimsy subterfuges of modern times, boldly invited its patrons to draw and mix at their own sweet will. "Plenty of drunkenness, Uncle Joe, in those days?" we queried of an ancient boatman who was dilating upon the good old times. "Bless your heart, no!" was the answer. "Mr. Eddy didn't put up with

no drunkards on the canal. They could drink all night, sir, and be steady as an eight-day clock in the morning."

When the feverish haste born of the locomotive and telegraph had not yet infected society, a trip over the canal in the passenger packet, the "Governor Sullivan," must have been an enjoyable experience. Protected by iron rules from the dangers of collision; undaunted by squalls of wind, realizing, should the craft be capsized, that he had nothing to do but walk ashore, the traveller, speeding along at the leisurely pace of four miles per hour, had ample time for observation and reflection. Seated, in summer, under a capacious awning, he traversed the valley of the Mystic, skirting the picturesque shores of Mystic Pond. Instead of a foreground of blurred landscape, vanishing, ghostlike, ere its features could be fairly distinguished, soft bits of characteristic New England scenery, clear cut as cameos, lingered caressingly on his vision; green meadows, fields riotous with blossomed clover, fragrant orchards and quaint old farm-houses, with a background of low hills wooded to their summits.

Passing under bridges, over rivers, between high embankments, and through deep cuttings, floated up hill by a series of locks, he marvelled at this triumph of engineering, and, if he were a director, pictured the manufactories that were to spring up along this great thoroughfare, swelling its revenues for all time.

The tow-path of the canal was a famous promenade. Upon Sunday afternoons, especially, numerous pedestrians from the dusty city strolled along the canal for a breath of fresh air and a glimpse of the open country, through the Royal estate in Medford, past the substantial old-fashioned mansion-house of Peter C. Brooks, as far, perhaps, as the Baldwin estate, and the birthplace

of Count Rumford, in Woburn. "I love that old tow-path," said Uncle Joe. "'T was there I courted my wife, and every time the boat went by she came tripping out to walk a piece with me! Bless you, sir, the the horses knew her step, and it wan't so heavy, nuther."

Meanwhile, under the direction of Caleb Eddy, who assumed the agency of the corporation in 1825, bringing great business ability and unquenchable zeal to his task, the perishable wooden locks were gradually replaced with stone, a new stone dam was built at Billerica, and the service brought to a high state of efficiency. The new dam was the occasion of a lawsuit brought by the proprietors of the Sudbury meadows, claiming damages to the extent of \$10,000 for flooding their meadows. The defendants secured the services of Samuel Hoar, Esq., of Concord, assisted by the Hon. Daniel Webster, who accepted a retaining fee of \$100 to "manage and argue the case in conjunction with Mr. Hoar. The cause was to have been tried November, 1833. Mr. Webster was called on by me and promised to examine the evidence and hold himself in readiness for the trial, but for some time before he was not to be found in Boston, at one time at New York, at another in Philadelphia, and so from place to place, so that I am satisfied no dependence can be placed with certainty upon his assistance, and," plaintively concludes the agent, "our \$100 has gone to profit and loss account."

On the other side was the Hon. Jeremiah Mason, assisted by Franklin Dexter, Esq. This case was decided the following year adversely to the plaintiffs.

With the accession of business brought by the corporations at Lowell, the prospect for increased dividends in the future was extremely encouraging. The golden age of the canal appeared close at hand; but the fond

hopes of the proprietors were once more destined to disappointment. Even the genius of James Sullivan had not foreseen the railway locomotive. In 1829, a petition was presented to the Legislature for the survey of a railroad from Boston to Lowell. The interests of the canal were seriously involved. A committee was promptly chosen to draw up for presentation to the General Court "a remonstrance of the Proprietors of the Middlesex Canal, against the grant of a charter to build a railroad from Boston to Lowell." This remonstrance, signed by William Sullivan, Joseph Coolidge, and George Hallett, bears date of Boston, Feb. 12, 1830, and conclusively shows how little the business men of fifty years ago anticipated the enormous development of our resources consequent upon the application of steam to transportation: —

"The remonstrants take pleasure in declaring, that they join in the common sentiment of surprise and commendation, that any intelligence and enterprise should have raised so rapidly and so permanently, such establishments as are seen at Lowell. The proprietors of these works have availed themselves of *the canal*, for their transportation of all articles, except in the winter months, . . . and every effort has been made by this corporation to afford every facility, it was hoped and believed, to the entire satisfaction of the Lowell proprietors. The average annual amount of tolls paid by these proprietors has been only about four thousand dollars. It is believed no safer or cheaper mode of conveyance can ever be established, nor any so well adapted for carrying heavy and bulky articles. To establish therefore a *substitute* for the canal alongside of it, and in many places within a few rods of it, and to do that which the canal was made to do, seems to be a measure not called for by any exigency, nor one which the Legislature can permit, without implicitly declaring that all investments of money in public enterprises must be subjected to the will of any applicants who think that they may benefit themselves without regard to older enterprises, which have a claim to protection from public authority. With regard, then, to transportation of tonnage goods, the means exist for all but the winter months, as effectually as any that can be provided.

There is a supposed source of revenue to a railroad *from carrying passengers*. As to this, the remonstrants venture no opinion, except to say, that passengers are now carried, at all hours, as rapidly and safely as they are anywhere else in the world. . . . To this, the remonstrants would add, that the use of a railroad, *for passengers only*, has been tested by experience, nowhere, hitherto; and that it remains to be known, whether this is a mode which will command general confidence and approbation, and that, therefore, no facts are now before the public, which furnish the conclusion, that the grant of a railroad is a public exigency even for such a purpose. The Remonstrants would also add, that so far as they know and believe, *there never can be a sufficient inducement to extend a railroad from Lowell westwardly and northwestwardly, to the Connecticut, so as to make it the great avenue to and from the interior, but that its termination must be at Lowell*, and, consequently, that it is to be a substitute for the modes of transportation now in use between that place and Boston, *and cannot deserve patronage from the supposition that it is to be more extensively useful*. . . .

“The Remonstrants, therefore, respectfully submit: First, that there be no such exigency as will warrant the granting of the prayer for a railroad to and from Lowell; Secondly, that, if that prayer be granted, provision should be made as a condition for granting it, that the Remonstrants shall be indemnified for the losses which will be thereby occasioned to them.”

This may seem the wilful blindness of self-interest; but the utterances of the press and the legislative debates of the period are similar in tone. In relation to another railroad, the *Boston Transcript* of Sept. 1, 1830, remarks: “It is not astonishing that so much reluctance exists against plunging into doubtful speculations. . . . The public itself is divided as to the practicability of the Rail Road. If they expect the assistance of capitalists, they must stand ready to guarantee the *percentum per annum*; without this, all hopes of Rail Roads are visionary and chimerical.” In a report of the legislative proceedings published in the *Boston*

Courier, of Jan. 25, 1830, Mr. Cogswell, of Ipswich, remarked: "Railways, Mr. Speaker, may do well enough in old countries, but will never be the thing for so young a country as this. When you can make the rivers run back, it will be time enough to make a railway." Notwithstanding the pathetic remonstrances and strange vaticinations of the canal proprietors, the Legislature incorporated the road and refused compensation to the canal. Even while the railroad was in process of construction, the canal directors do not seem to have realized the full gravity of the situation. They continued the policy of replacing wood with stone, and made every effort to perfect the service in all its details. As late as 1836, the agent recommended improvements. The amount of tonnage continued to increase—the very sleepers used in the construction of the railway were boated, it is said, to points convenient for the workmen.

In 1832, the canal declared a dividend of \$22 per share; from 1834 to 1837, inclusive, a yearly dividend of \$30.

The disastrous competition of the Lowell Railroad was now beginning to be felt. In 1835, the Lowell goods conveyed by canal paid tonnage dues of \$11,975.51; in 1836, the income from this source had dwindled to \$6,195.77. The canal dividends had been kept up to their highest mark by the sale of its townships in Maine, and other real estate; but now they began to drop. The year the Lowell road went into full operation the receipts of the canal were reduced one-third, and when the Nashua and Lowell road went into full operation, in 1840, they were reduced another third. The board of directors waged a plucky warfare with the railroads, reducing the tariff on all articles, and almost abolishing it on some, till the expenditures of the canal outran its

income; but steam came out triumphant. Even sanguine Caleb Eddy became satisfied that longer competition was vain, and set himself to the difficult task of saving fragments from the inevitable wreck.

At this time (1843) Boston numbered about 100,000 inhabitants, and was dependent for water upon cisterns and wells. The supply of water in the wells had been steadily diminishing for years, and what remained was necessarily subject to contamination from numberless sources. "One specimen which I analyzed," said Dr. Jackson, "which gave three per cent. of animal and vegetable putrescent matter, was publicly sold as a mineral water; it was believed that water having such a remarkable fetid odor and nauseous taste, could be no other than that of a sulphur spring; but its medicinal powers vanished with the discovery that the spring arose from a neighboring drain." Here was a golden opportunity. Eddy proposed to abandon the canal as a means of transportation, and convert it into an aqueduct for supplying the city of Boston with wholesome water. The sections between the Merrimack and Concord at one extremity, and Charlestown mill-pond and Woburn at the other, were to be wholly discontinued. Flowing along the open channel of the canal from the Concord River to Horn-pond locks in Woburn, from thence it was to be conducted in iron pipes to a reservoir upon Mount Benedict, in Charlestown, a hill eighty feet above the sea-level.

The good quality of the Concord-river water was vouched for by the "analysis of four able and practical chemists, Dr. Charles T. Jackson, of Boston; John W. Webster, of Cambridge University; S. L. Dana, of Lowell, and A. A. Hayes, Esq., of the chemical works at Roxbury." The various legal questions involved were sub-

mitted to the Hon. Jeremiah Mason, who gave an opinion, dated Dec. 31, 1842, favorable to the project. The form for an act of incorporation was drawn up, and a pamphlet was published in 1843, by Caleb Eddy, entitled an "Historical sketch of the Middlesex Canal, with remarks for the consideration of the Proprietors," setting forth the new scheme in glowing colors.

But despite the feasibility of the plan proposed, and the energy with which it was pushed, the agitation came to naught, and Eddy, despairing of the future, resigned his position as agent in 1845. Among the directors during these later years were Ebenezer Chadwick, William Appleton, William Sturgis, Charles F. Adams, A. A. Lawrence, and Abbott Lawrence; but no business ability could long avert the catastrophe. Stock fell to \$150, and finally the canal was discontinued in 1846. It would seem, however, that a revival of business was deemed within the range of possibilities, for in conveyances made in 1852, the company reserved the right to use the land "for canalling purposes"; and the directors annually went through with the form of electing an agent and collector as late as 1853.

"Its vocation gone, and valueless for any other service, the canal property was sold for \$130,000. After the final dividends, little more than the original assessments had been returned to the stockholders." Oct. 3, 1859, the Supreme Court issued a decree declaring that the proprietors had "forfeited all their franchises and privileges, by reason of non-feasance, non-user, misfeasance and neglect." Thus was the corporation forever extinguished.

LORIN L. DAME, A. M.

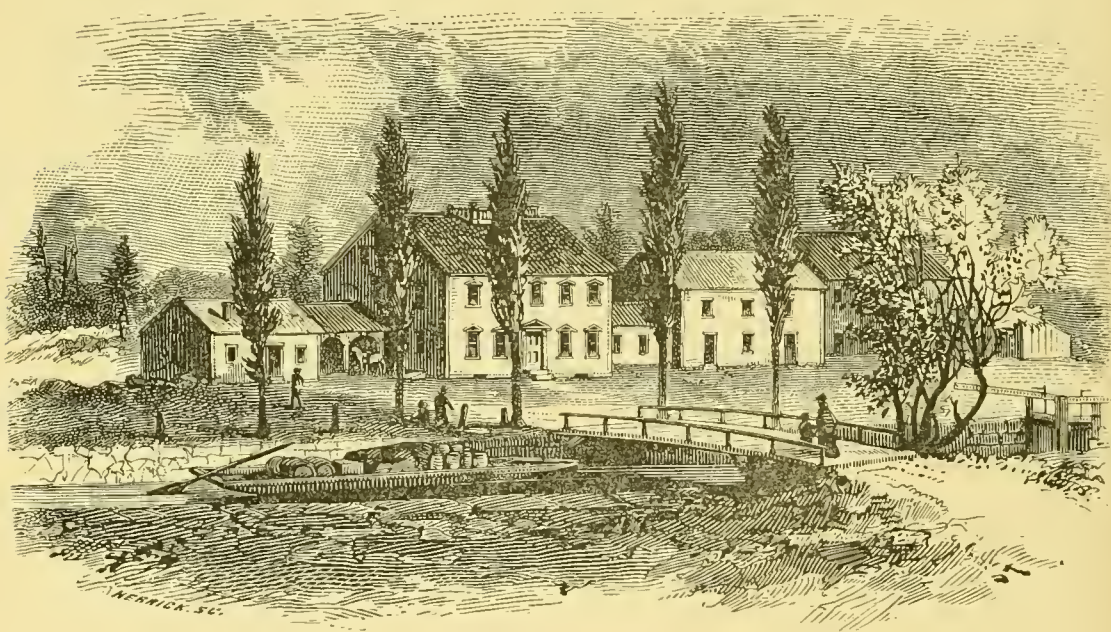
NAVIGATION OF THE MERRIMACK RIVER.

The canals of the Merrimack River had their day and active existence in the first half of the present century. They have been referred to as the earliest step towards a solution of the problem of cheap transportation between Boston and the northern country; but perhaps they may more properly be classed as the second step in that direction, the turnpikes having been first in the field. James Sullivan and his associates, the original projectors of this canal system, undoubtedly had in mind not only to connect Boston with the Merrimack River country, but also to extend their canals from the Merrimack to the Connecticut River, and from the Connecticut to Lake Champlain and through its outlet to the St. Lawrence, thus bringing Boston into inland water communication with Montreal and the Lower Canadas. The project was too vast and the physical obstacles too formidable to admit of full consummation, and their labors resulted only in uniting by navigable waters the capitals of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, covering a distance by river and canal of about eighty-five miles.

The Middlesex Canal, twenty-seven miles in length from Boston to the Merrimack River, at what is now known as Middlesex Village, about two miles above Lowell, was the first constructed. The work on this canal was commenced in 1794, and the canal was completed and opened for public use in 1803.

Following the construction of the Middlesex Canal came the requisite works to render the Merrimack River navigable from the head of the Middlesex to Concord, N. H., being a series of dams, locks, and short canals, to overcome the natural rapids and falls of the river.

The first of these works was a lock and short canal at Wicassee Falls, three miles above the head of the Middlesex, at what is now known as Tyng's Island. No fall is now perceptible at that point, the Lowell dam having flowed it out. The second work, fifteen miles further up the river, at Cromwell's Falls, consisted of a dam and single lock. Then came dams and single locks at Moor's, Coos, Goff's, Griffin's, and Merrill's Falls. About a mile above Merrill's Falls were the lower locks of the Amoskeag, — a canal next in importance to the



The Old Blodgett Mansion at Amoskeag Canal. Erected in 1795: pulled down in 1870.

Middlesex. It was only about one mile in length, but surmounted by works of very considerable magnitude, the great fall of between fifty and sixty feet, that now furnishes the water-power for the manufactories of Manchester. Its construction was first undertaken by Samuel Blodgett early as 1794, but it was not completed till 1807.

Eight miles above Amoskeag the locks and short canal of Hooksett overcame a fall of some seventeen

feet, and six miles further on the Bow locks and canal afforded the final lift of twenty-seven feet, to the level of the navigable water of the Merrimack River at Concord.

Short side canals with locks were subsequently built at the junctions of the Nashua and Piscataquog rivers with the Merrimack, to facilitate the passage of boats from the Merrimack to the storehouses in Nashua and Piscataquog villages.

For forty years this line of canals formed the principal channel of heavy transportation between the two capitals, and, except that the canals did not effectually compete with the stages for carrying passengers, they held the same position to transportation as is now held by their successor and destroyer — the railroad.

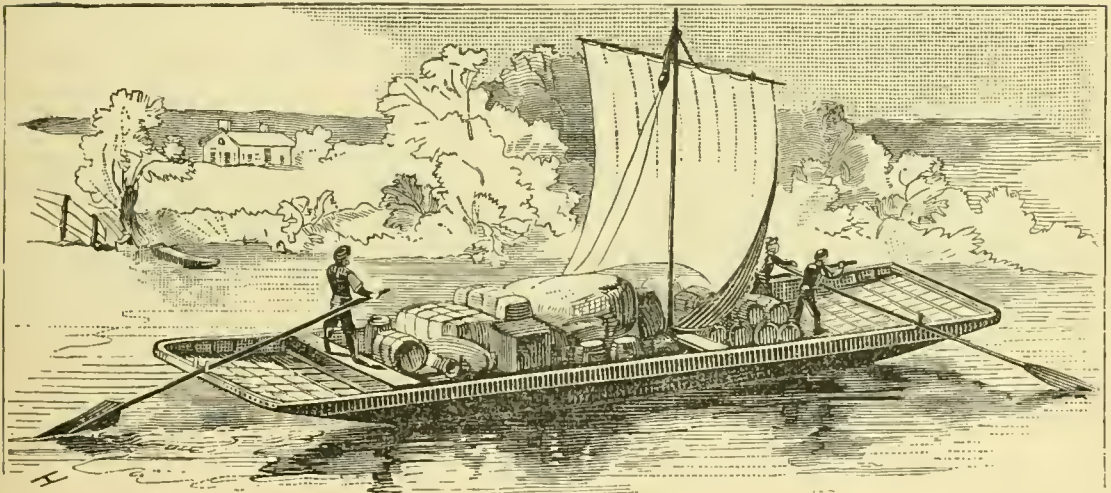
During the entire season of open river, from the time that the spring break-up of winter ice permitted navigation to commence, until the frosts of fall again closed it, this eighty-five miles of water was thronged with boats, taking the products of the country to a market at the New England metropolis, and returning loaded with salt, lime, cement, plaster, hardware, leather, liquors, iron, glass, grindstones, cordage, paints, oils, and all that infinite variety of merchandise required by country merchants, formerly classed under the general terms of "dry and West India goods." The original bills of lading, many of which are now in the writer's possession, also show that they brought up from Boston for consumption in the country, flour, corn, butter, and cheese, which plainly indicates that the people of the Merrimack River valley gave more attention in those days to lumbering and river navigation than to agriculture.

These boats, of which there are probably none now in existence, were peculiarly constructed, to answer the

requirements of the river and canal navigation, and their mode of propulsion was as peculiar as their model. They were about seventy-five feet long and nine feet wide in the middle, a little narrower at the ends, flat bottomed across their full width, but the bottom sloped or rounded up from near the mid-length of the boat, both towards stem and stern, so that while the sides were level on top and about three feet deep at mid-length, they were only a foot or less in depth at either end. A load of about twenty tons would make the boat draw two feet or more near the middle, while the bottom would be out of water at each end. When the river was low in midsummer, only about half a full load could be carried to Concord.

The boats were built of two-inch pine plank, spiked on small oak cross-joists and side-knees, and had heavy oak horizontal timbers at either end. The sides were vertical and without cross thwarts, except what was called the mast-board, a thick oak plank, securely fastened across on top, from side to side, a little forward of the centre of the boat. The seams between planks were caulked with oakum and pitched. The mast was a spar about twenty-five feet long and six inches in its largest diameter. A foothold or step was fixed in the bottom of the boat, under the cross-plank, to receive it, and it was further steadied by the cross-plank, which was slotted to admit it when set up, and had a wedge and staple arrangement to hold it in place. A cross yard, with a square sail attached, which could be hoisted or lowered at pleasure by a rope working over a single block in the top of the mast, completed the sailing outfit. It was only used upon the river, the mast being struck and stowed in the boat when passing the larger canals. The rudder was a long steering oar, pivoted on

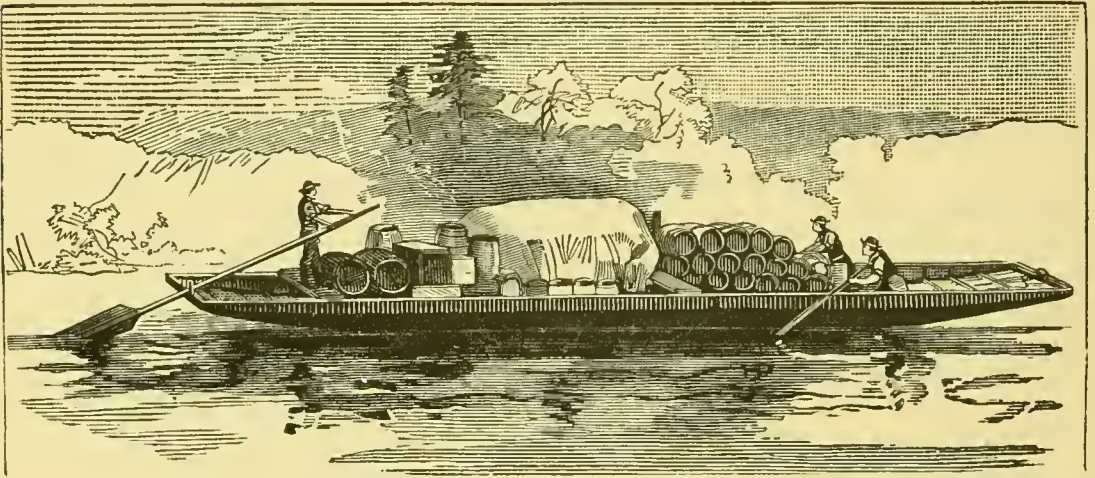
the centre of the cross-frame of the stern, the blade, about eighteen inches wide and ten feet long, trailing in the water behind the boat, and the handle or tiller extending about the same distance over the boat, so as to afford a good leverage for guiding the unwieldy craft. Three large scull oars, about sixteen feet long with six-inch blades, and three setting poles, or pike poles as they were sometimes called, stout, straight, round poles, wrought out of tough and springy ash, about fifteen feet long, nearly two inches in diameter and shod at one end with a long iron point, completed the propelling outfit. The crew consisted of a skipper and two bow-men.



WITH WIND AND CURRENT.

In going down the river between canals the usual mode of propulsion was by use of the scull-oars. The bow-men took position close to either side of the boat, facing the bow and about six feet from it, and each worked his oar against a thole-pin placed in the opposite gunwale, the oar handles crossing, so that they were necessarily worked simultaneously. The skipper also had his oar, which he worked in a similar manner when his attention was not wholly taken up in steering. When there was a fair wind the sail would be hoisted.

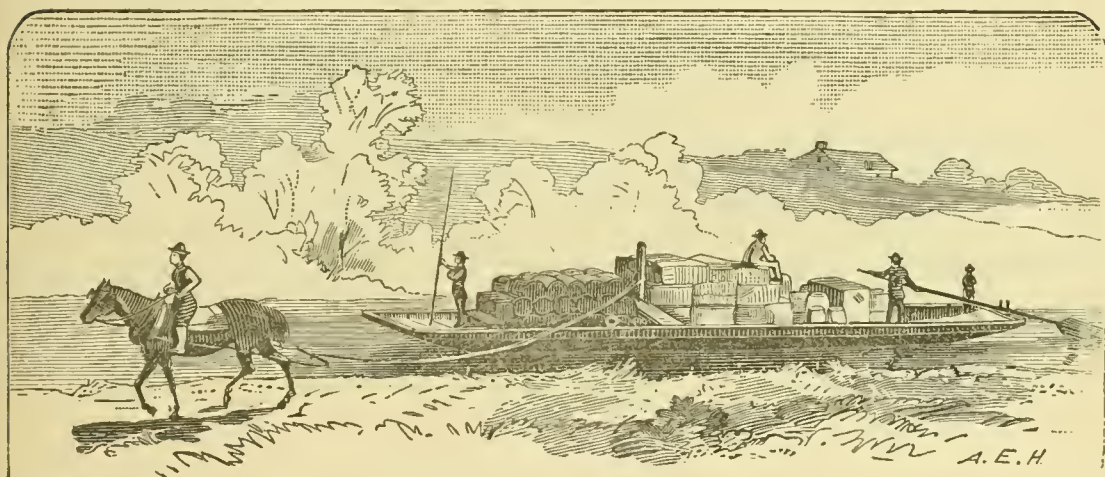
The current also materially assisted on the downward trip, and sometimes the poles would be used. On the return trip against the current, the setting-poles were the chief reliance, but sometimes aided by the sail. The cargo was so piled in the boat as to leave a narrow passage next each gunwale from the bow to the mast-board. There was also a clear space of six to ten feet left at the bow, and enough at the stern to allow the tiller to be moved freely across the boat. To propel the boat by poling, a bow-man stood on either side of the bow,



PUSHING AGAINST THE CURRENT.

with his face towards the stern, and thrusting the pike end of his pole down beside the boat in a slanting direction towards the stern until it struck the bottom of the river, he placed his shoulder against the top of the pole, and, with his feet firmly braced against the cross-timbers in the bottom of the boat, he exerted the strength of his body and legs to push the boat forward. As it moved, he stepped along the bottom of the boat still bracing his shoulder firmly against the pole until he had walked in this manner to the mast-board, — or, rather, until the movement of the boat had brought the mast-board to him. He then turned round and walked

to the bow, trailing his pole in the water, thrust it again to the bottom of the river, and repeated the pushing movement. The skipper also had his pole, but having very limited space to work in, and being obliged to mind the helm pretty closely in moving against the current, he could do comparatively little to aid the progress. These modes of propulsion applied only to the river and the river canals. The boats were towed through the Middlesex Canal by horses. A trip from Concord to Boston and return usually took from seven to ten days.

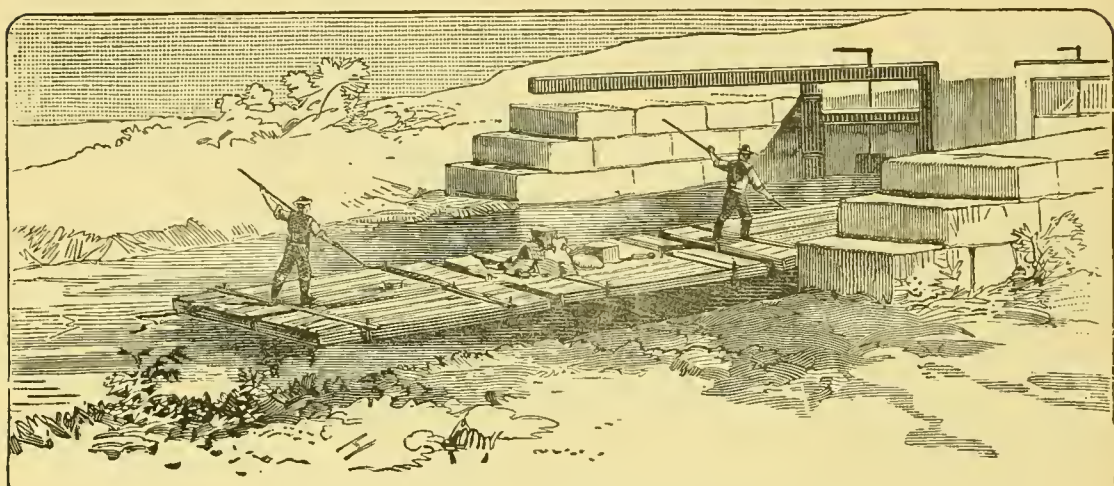


THE TOW-PATH ON THE CANAL.

Concord, Piscataquog, Litchfield and Nashua, each had its lines of boats, making in the aggregate quite a little fleet. The broad reaches of the river below Nashua were at times rendered especially picturesque by the bellying sails as the boats drove before the wind.

This part of the river had also upon it, for three or four years subsequent to 1834, a fair-sized steamboat, plying for passengers and freight between Nashua and Lowell. She was commanded one season by Capt. Jacob Vanderbilt, of Staten Island, New York, brother to the late Commodore Vanderbilt. In the early part of the

season, while the water of the river was at its highest stages, it was also thronged with logs and lumber being taken down for market. The larger falls being impassable except by their canals, the logs and lumber had necessarily to be bound into rafts of such dimensions as would pass through the locks. And at the larger canals, such as the Amoskeag and Middlesex, the labor of locking down and towing these rafts — called shots — was very considerable and consumed much time. Between



SHOT OF LUMBER COMING OUT OF A LOCK.

canals these shots were bound together into large rafts of eight or ten shots, called bands, and floated down with the current, generally at high water, avoiding the locks at the smaller canals by running the falls. Many of these rafts continued down the river to Newburyport, passing the Pawtucket Falls through a canal and locks constructed for navigation purposes about the same time as the other Merrimack River canals, but by different parties, who subsequently (in 1821) sold out to the Lowell manufacturing companies. Newburyport rafts usually consisted of ship-timber, masts, lumber and wood, and, if starting from any place below Amoskeag Falls, could be made into larger shots than those des-

tined to pass through the Middlesex Canal, because the Pawtucket Canal locks were much larger.

The construction of these canals was a great enterprise in that day. Boston was a town of only about twenty thousand inhabitants when the Middlesex Canal was opened; neither Lowell nor Manchester had been commenced; Nashua was a small place, without manufacturing, and Concord was a country village.

Massachusetts granted in aid of the Middlesex Canal two townships in Maine, of small value at that time, and but little was realized from them. Curiously enough, a very considerable portion of the money for the enterprise was raised by lotteries. Notably so in the case of the Amoskeag Canal, the projectors of which were at several different times authorized by the legislatures of New Hampshire and Massachusetts to establish lotteries for raising funds to carry on the work. In a quarrel which arose between the lottery managers and Judge Blodgett, the leading projector of the Amoskeag Canal, it was alleged on one hand that the lottery drawings were unfairly managed, and that the money paid over to the Canal Company was only a part of the proceeds. On the other hand, the lottery managers alleged that a part of the money which they did pay over was illegally used by Blodgett in building "a splendid mansion" for his own residence. The "mansion" in question was certainly built (about 1795) and occupied by Blodgett until his death in 1807; but it was asserted by him, and seems wholly probable, that the cost of its construction came entirely from his private purse. The engraving given in this article is a good representation of the house and its surroundings about forty years after its erection, at which time sketches were taken from which the present drawing was made. It stood

between the river and the old boating canal, below the upper locks, and a little north of the present site of the Hoyt Paper Mills. In 1870, or about that time, this building was torn down to make way for new improvements. The writer hereof was born in this house, and having spent his childhood and early boyhood on the place, has vivid recollections of all its surroundings. "Mansion" it has been styled, but as a matter of fact it was simply one of those large houses so much affected in New England in the last century. Somewhat more ornate in its external finish than the average of such houses, but still a heavy, matter-of-fact structure, relieved only by the picturesque row of tall, lombardy poplars, then in fashion at houses of any pretension, and by the soft yellow and red colors in which the buildings were painted. Internally it had its large square rooms, its tall clock, its brass fire-irons in open fireplaces, its wide kitchen chimney, and its great chambers and attic, common to all its class. But the attaching out-buildings were uncommonly numerous, and included a little red store, containing that indescribable and innumerable assortment of goods required by a rural community.

The owner and master of this mansion, from 1820 to 1837, was Frederick G. Stark; a man of the times; in the meridian of life contemporaneously with the canal; superintendent of all the navigation works upon the river above Middlesex Canal; merchant, politician, trial justice, surveyor, and among the foremost in all the business activities of the time and place. A short sketch of his life may appropriately be given in this connection.

Frederick Gilman Stark was born in the house of his grandfather, Gen. John Stark, at Derryfield, now Manchester, Aug. 6, 1792. The place of his birth was

upon land in the northerly part of Manchester, now owned by the state of New Hampshire, and occupied for the Reform School. The house was destroyed by accidental fire in 1866.

Of the five sons of Gen. John Stark, the third one, John, Jr., known in his day as the "justice," inherited the family mansion and home farm, where he had lived with and assisted his distinguished father during the last forty years of the life of the old patriot, and where he spent the remainder of his own long life engaged mostly in agricultural pursuits. His third son, Frederick, the subject of this memoir, was one of a family of twelve children, all of whom lived to advanced age and raised families of their own. Starting in life with the advantage of a good physical constitution, as indicated by the remarkable longevity of the family, and what may perhaps be considered a further advantage of comparative poverty, — the family property being inadequate to the support of so many children without exertions of their own, — Frederick seems to have developed at an early age a rugged spirit of self-reliance, and a determination to make his way in the world by his own efforts.

The years of childhood were passed at home. The daily duties of the establishment required such aid from the children as they were able to give. In the winter there was some schooling, and in this direction he seems to have shown great aptitude, especially for figures. There is now in existence a manuscript book of complete arithmetic of the higher grade, wholly in his handwriting, with all the rules and examples worked out in detail, embracing simple rule of three, inverse proportion, compound proportion, practice, tare and tret, single fellowship, simple interest, compound interest, commission brokerage, insurance, discount, bank discount, equation of payments, barter, loss and gain, alligation medial,

alligation alternate, position, double position, vulgar fractions, and decimals. This manuscript book is dated in 1809, and has the appearance of being his own composition. There is no positive evidence of its originality, but it is at least evident that he thoroughly mastered the subjects of which it treats. He was then seventeen years of age and in attendance upon school in Londonderry.

His studious inclinations in these early youthful days seem to have opened many school-houses to his care, and from 1810, when he was eighteen years old, until more mature years brought higher responsibilities that absorbed all his time and energies, we find records of his teaching, for the usual short periods of winter schooling, in various districts of Manchester and the neighboring towns. During this period he also mastered, without a teacher, the art of surveying land, and subsequently, up to a late time in his life, his ability as a surveyor was endorsed by extensive employment throughout his own and neighboring towns. His surveys, plans, and papers relating thereto are yet much sought after as standard references. He was also an elegant penman and book-keeper, his account-books being models of neatness and accuracy.

But teaching in those days could not be a regular occupation. Schools were only for a short term in the winter. Teachers were poorly paid, and only taught when more profitable occupation was not at hand. Other business must be depended upon, in the main, for a livelihood. A natural aptitude and inclination for trade led him first to apply for a situation in a country store, and in 1810 he took his first lessons with Riddle & Whittle, in their Bedford (Piscataquog) store, and remained with them about six months. He then

changed into the neighboring store of Parker & Palmer, where he remained two years, leaving Dec. 26, 1812. That winter he kept school in District No. 1, of Manchester, and in the spring of 1813, desiring to see something of the surrounding country, he traveled through most of the towns of Hillsborough, Rockingham, and Middlesex counties, paying his way by assuming for the occasion the role of a foot-peddler, carrying his small stock of goods in tin hand-trunks. The following extract from his diary record of these foot journeys illustrate the times:—

“Thursday, April 15th, 1813. — Set out from home in the morning. Went to Piscataquog, got on a raft and went down to the head of Pawtucket Canal. Got off and went to Manning’s, near Chelmsford meeting-house, and put up.

“Friday. — Passed down the turnpike to Boston. Arrived about half past 2 P. M.

“Saturday. — Stayed in Boston. Walked about town.

“Sunday. — Went to the Roman Catholic Church in the forenoon, and in the afternoon went in company with Charles Stark over Cragie’s bridge and round to Charlestown. Went on to Bunker Hill; climbed on to Gen. Warren’s monument, and saw two British frigates lying off in Boston Bay; returned to Boston.

“Monday. — Started from Boston about 11 o’clock and traveled to old Concord. Put up at Davis’s, about two miles north of the town.

“Tuesday. — Passed up as far as Westford. Sold five or six dollars’ worth of goods during the day.

“Wednesday. — Passed through Carlisle and Groton and put up in Pepperell.

“Thursday. — Went from Pepperell to the upper part of Hollis. Stayed at the clothiers.

“Friday. — Arrived at Amherst about noon; took dinner, and then came on and put up a little before night at the widow’s.

“Thursday, April 29th. — Passed through Londonderry, Hampstead, Plaistow, and Haverhill, and stayed in Bradford.

“Friday. — Walked to Ames’s in Andover, then got on board the stage and went to Boston. Arrived about 2 P. M. Saw the marshalls of the W. B. S. with their banners pass into Faneuil Hall.

They were accompanied by three uniformed companies and an excellent band of music, and made a very splendid appearance.

"Saturday, May 1st. — Left Boston after breakfast. Passed over Cambridge bridge; got on board a wagon and rode to Concord; then walked to Acton and put up at Stearns'es.

"Sunday. — Spent the day in Acton. Went to meeting in the forenoon, and spent the afternoon in and about the tavern.

"Monday. — Passed through Littleton and put up at a private house in Groton. Polly brought in the milk and strained it into a large wooden bowl, then seated herself at the table and crumbed the bread into some pewter basons, and with a tin dipper laded the milk from the wooden bowl; then handed the old gentleman his bason and one to Phineas, and I was seated at the table to eat mine.

"Tuesday. — Passed through a part of Shirley and through Lunenburg to Townsend. Put up at Stines'.

"Wednesday. — Passed through Ashby and New Ipswich to the north part of Temple. Stayed at Farrar's.

"Thursday. — Through Wilton and a part of Milford to Mont Vernon. Stayed in the north part of the town.

"Friday. — From Mont Vernon to New Boston and Goffstown. Dined at Caldwell's. Arrived home about half past three. Cold N. E. storm."

The first cotton factory at the falls of Amoskeag was erected and put in operation in 1811. It stood near the head of the falls on the west side of the river, then in Goffstown, about upon the ground now occupied by the Cheney Paper Mills, within the present limits of Manchester. The product was cotton yarn only, which was sold to be woven in domestic looms. Jotham Gillis was the first agent of this factory company. He was succeeded as agent, successively by Philemon Wolcott, John G. Moore, and Frederick G. Stark. Mr. Stark's appointment dating from July 28, 1813, and terminating May 11, 1814, when he went into trade, in Goffstown, as a partner to Capt. Trask. From this time until 1820, he continued in trade at Goffstown and at Manchester with various partners. In 1820, after occupying the

place two years under a lease, he purchased the Blodgett mansion with its attaching property, for residence and place of business, and lived and traded there on his account up to the time when he removed to Bedford, in 1837.

In 1815, he was united in marriage with Nancy Gillis, daughter of Jotham Gillis, Esq.,—above referred to as the first agent of the Amoskeag factory,—a lady in every way calculated to promote his happiness and prosperity, and whose Christian virtues and benevolent life endeared her to all who came within her sphere. Their happy marriage relation continued unbroken through forty-one years, until her decease in 1856.

The first agent appointed by the Canal Company, “to superintend the said canals, to collect tolls,” etc., was Samuel P. Kidder, who had for many years been Blodgett’s assistant and confidential secretary. He held the appointment until his decease in 1822, when Frederick G. Stark was appointed his successor. Mr. Stark held the position continuously about fifteen years until 1837. During this period his correspondence shows him to have been in active communication with the Boston agents of the proprietors of the Middlesex Canal, who also owned or controlled the river canals, and he appears to have at all times enjoyed their full confidence.

In summer, matters connected with the river navigation and trade absorbed his attention. In winter, there was leisure for public affairs. So prominent and active a man, possessing such keen abilities, could not fail to become identified with the business affairs of the town. We accordingly find that from 1819 to 1837, he held some town office almost every year. From 1819 to 1823, inclusive, he was town clerk. He was on the board of selectmen in 1826, '27, '29, '31, '32, '34, '35,

'36, and as moderator in 1830, '31, '32, '37. He represented the town in the lower branch of the legislature in 1824, '25, '26, and was a member of the state senate in 1830 and 1831. Most of the small quarrels of the neighborhood were brought before him as justice of the peace, for trial or adjustment. His record-book of trials is carefully written out, and indicates discreet judgment in his decisions. The river community had many rough members, and naturally a considerable proportion of the cases tried before his justice court were for assault and battery. It appears that the expense of giving a man a sound beating was, generally, about four dollars and costs.

In 1833, Mr. Stark was appointed one of the side judges of the court of common pleas for Hillsborough County, a position — since abolished in 1855 — for which his business qualifications and knowledge of the county eminently fitted him. He retained the place about three years. George A. Ramsdell, Esq., says, in his history of the Hillsborough bench and bar, "It is generally supposed that these judges were but ornamental appendages to the learned judge who actively presided in court; but in addition to the discharge of the duties now substantially performed by the county commissioners, they often aided the court by their sterling common-sense, in matters requiring not legal learning merely, but an acquaintance with men and the ordinary concerns of life, which is not always possessed by learned lawyers."

The commencement of the present manufacturing establishments of Manchester dates from 1836. In that year the Amoskeag Company began to purchase the land adjacent to the falls, with a view of constructing canals and factories, and building up a manufacturing town. Mr. Stark sold to them such of his real estate

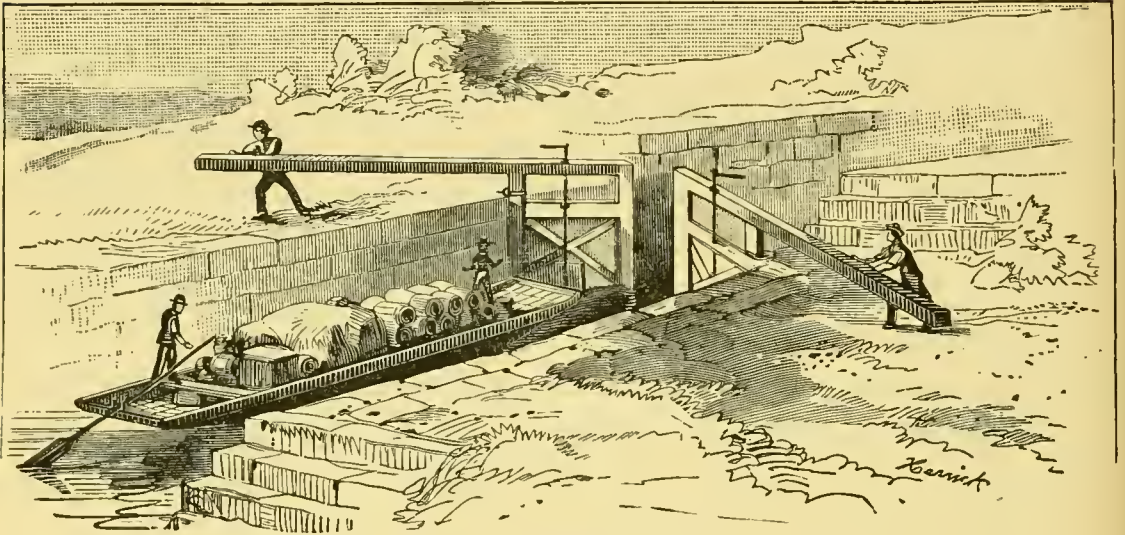
as they desired, including the residence at the old Blodgett mansion, and at once commenced to build him a new dwelling in the neighboring village of Piscataquog, — then in Bedford, but since annexed to Manchester, — where he took up his residence the next year, and from which he never removed. From this period (1837) to 1847, or later, he continued his mercantile business in the village of Piscataquog. He also held the office of high sheriff of the county for five years, — from 1837 to 1842. Subsequently his attention was absorbed in the care and management of his investments, especially his landed property, which, being situated in and near the growing city of Manchester, had become valuable. Thus passed his declining years. Identified with the local projects of his vicinity, in good fellowship with his neighbors, and respected by all who knew him, his latter years were in quiet contrast to the restless energy of earlier times.

The death of his wife, in 1856, seemed to mark the turning-point of his life. From that time his health gradually declined. Four years later he was stricken by a slight paralytic shock, and on the 26th day of March, 1861, he died, aged nearly sixty-nine years. The public journals of that date paid to him this just tribute of respect: —

“Judge Stark was a man remarkable for his industry, energy, and correct business habits; and as the result of nearly half a century of public and private business has left behind a reputation for reliability and strict integrity second to no man in the state.”

The Merrimack River canals were blotted out by the railroads. The opening of the railroad to Lowell in 1835, to Nashua in 1838, and to Concord in 1842, were successive steps of destruction to the whole system

of river navigation, and culminated in a total abandonment of the canals soon after the Concord Railroad was put in operation. A hardy race of boatmen, pilots, and raftsmen — men of uncommon strength and endurance, skilful in their calling, but unfamiliar with other labor — were suddenly and permanently thrown out of em-



BOAT ENTERING LOCKS.

ployment. The wooden dams and locks went to decay, the embankments were cut and ploughed down, and successive spring freshets have hurled their icy batteries against the stone abutments and lock walls until they are nearly obliterated, and the next generation will know not of them.

GEN. GEORGE STARK.

*XXIII. History of St. Anne's Church, Lowell, by
Charles Hovey. Read Feb. 6, 1885.*

THIS church, now sixty years old, having been the first erected within the territory of Lowell, may not inaptly be called the "mother church."

The gathering here, in the first quarter of the present century, was of large numbers of persons representing many nations; of all ages, but mostly young; of various religious beliefs, or none at all; with one purpose only, common to all,—that of getting a living. Being of such a character, it was not an easy matter to decide what kind of a religious service to provide for.

The Constitution of the Commonwealth made all taxable property within its limits liable to assessment for parochial purposes; consequently, the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, who owned more than three-quarters of all the taxable property here, deemed it for their interest to provide *some* kind of worship for their operatives.

Prior to February, 1824, there were more than one thousand persons dwelling upon Chelmsford Neck, which now constitutes the most populous part of the city of Lowell, the greater part of whom were employed by said company.

There was not at that time within the described territory any church, meeting-house or other place of

public worship, nearer than that of the first parish of the town of Chelmsford, whose meeting-house was four miles distant.

If any apology were needed for writing a history of this church, it would be in the fact of its *unique* character. It started under peculiar conditions, never had a counterpart, and as has already been seen, lacked at the beginning the spontaneous element common to almost all religious bodies in this country.

The writer has had the privilege of reading that portion of the "Diary" of the late Kirk Boott which relates to the early development of the city, beginning Jan. 1, 1823, and extending to the middle of 1824. In this diary he frequently alluded to the preparation of plans for the proposed church, and of consultations with other directors of the company in regard to the employment of Rev. Mr. Edson as the rector.

In February, 1824, at the request of Kirk Boott and eleven others, a warrant was issued by a justice of the peace, calling a meeting of those who had associated together for religious purposes. The result of this meeting was the formation of "The Merrimack Religious Society." Its first meeting was held in the counting-room of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company.

After the organization of said society, the upper room of a two-story building which stood on the site of the present Green School, was arranged for the purpose of divine service. The building was erected by the company and was used as a school-house. Many years ago it was moved to the westerly side of Cabot Street, and is now used there as a dwelling.

Service was performed for the first time on Sunday, March 7, 1824, by Rev. Theodore Edson, then in deacon's orders. He continued to hold regular services in

the school-house for several weeks. On April 13th of the same year, a meeting of the society was held, at which thirty members were present, and the following vote was passed:—

Voted, "That the proposal made to Rev. Theodore Edson to preach for us one year at a salary of six hundred dollars per annum, meets our approbation, and that at a future meeting we will devise the means to raise such sums of money as may be required for the use of the society."

It appears on the records of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, that at a meeting of the directors, held April 15, 1824, it was

Voted, "That the agent be authorized to build a church at Chelmsford, of stone, and that a sum not exceeding nine thousand dollars be appropriated for that purpose.

(Signed) "KIRK BOOTT, *Clerk*."

In accordance with this vote, St. Anne's Church was built in 1824, and was consecrated "to the honor and worship of Almighty God," by Rt. Rev. Alexander V. Griswold, Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, March, 16, 1825. The application for consecration was made to the bishop by Kirk Boott, the agent of the company, and he was present during the whole ceremony, and delivered to the bishop the keys of the church.

The foundation of the parsonage being already laid, it was erected in the ensuing summer. Rev. Theodore Edson moved in March 21, 1826, and occupied it until the 27th of February, 1843, without any molestation whatever.

By way of information it may here be stated, that for business reasons the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, on January 2, 1826, conveyed all their property, including the "church lot," to the Proprietors of Locks

and Canals on Merrimack River. On May 3, 1826, "in consideration of one dollar, and for the purpose of supporting divine worship," the last-named company conveyed back to the Merrimack Manufacturing Company the property known as the "church lot," which included the church and parsonage thereon standing. In the deed are these words:—

"To have and to hold the above described premises to them, their successors and assigns forever, so long as they shall use, or permit the same to be used and appropriated to divine worship and for the residence of a minister of the gospel, and no longer, these being the whole object and intention of the parties in this conveyance, and neither the said proprietors nor their successors, nor any other person or persons, claiming by, from or under them, or in the name, right or stead of them, shall or will, by any way or means, have claim, or demand any right, title to the above released premises, or to any part or parcel thereof, forever, so long as the object and intention of the parties hereto shall be complied with."

From April, 1825, to November 23, 1827, Rev. Mr. Edson received his salary directly from the company. It had been raised to eight hundred dollars per annum, and was paid quarterly. During this period, the company being responsible for the tax required by the constitution and laws, retained from each of its operatives the sum of thirty-seven and a half cents, quarterly, for the support of public worship.

On the 27th of November, 1827, the company executed a lease, conveying the use of the church and parsonage for fifteen years, without rent other than that the lessees should pay all taxes levied, or to be levied, thereon, during the term they should hold the same. From this time, the rector received his salary directly from the worshipping congregation.

Within a few months next following, the compulsory obligation laid upon property, to support public

worship, was removed from the constitution and laws, by which the society, as such, had the use of the property without cost.

In 1825, as appears by the records, the company gave five hundred dollars to found a "Sabbath School Library," in said society, and in March, 1828, it "gave one thousand dollars to buy an organ for said church."

After the church and parsonage had been occupied about five years, and for some reason not apparent to the historian, the following release was duly executed and recorded:—

"Now know all men by these presents, That the said Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Merrimack River, in consideration of ten dollars to them paid by the said Merrimack Manufacturing Company, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, do hereby forever release to the said company, their successors and assigns, the provisions and conditions expressed and contained in the deed aforesaid (meaning the same as has hereinbefore been rehearsed), so that the said company, their successors and assigns, shall hereafter hold, have, possess and enjoy all and singular, the aforesaid premises, with all their privileges and appurtenances, free of all conditions, to their own use and behoof forever." [Dated May 22, 1830.]

In the year 1831, the name of the society was changed to that of "The Congregation of St. Anne's Church." Neither the release from the "Locks and Canals" or the change of name of the parish had any effect on the operation of the lease, which had then eleven years to run.

About the year 1835, negotiations began between the company and the congregation, for the sale of the westerly half of the "church lot," the former declining to sell the other half, which included the parsonage. These negotiations were continued from time to time, under the impression by some that the claim of the company was a *legal* one, although the rector and a

portion of the congregation always denied the justice of appropriating the property to any other uses than those explicitly expressed in the original deed, a part of which has just been read.

The lease expired by limitation in November, 1842. The company had given notice that it would sell the church for twelve thousand dollars, and that the parsonage must be vacated before March 1, 1843.

The purchase money for the church was raised by subscription among individual members of the congregation and others, the several subscriptions varying in amount from twelve and half cents (that sum then being represented by a current silver Spanish coin familiarly known as "ninepence") and the sum of twelve hundred and fifty dollars.

Twelve thousand dollars was the sum demanded by the company. After great effort it was raised and paid. When the treasurer of the church, with the check in his hand, was on his way to the counting-room, he met Patrick T. Jackson, one of the early directors of the company, who on knowing his business, said, "It is no better than highway robbery."

For business reasons, the society assumed a corporate form, and for several years it was known as "The Proprietors of St. Anne's Church." The stock of the corporation was divided into shares of fifty dollars each, and representation was allowed on half a share.

By advice of the church wardens, the Rev. Theodore Edson quitted the parsonage February 27, 1843, and moved into the "stone house" on Pawtucket Street. It had previously been used as a hotel, and afterwards became the property and residence of the late James C. Ayer, and now belongs to that estate.

Not long after the purchase of the church, the ne-

cessity of its enlargement became apparent, and about thirty feet were added to its northerly end, according to the original intention. With this exception, the main structure presents the same outward architectural appearance as it did sixty years ago.

Consequent upon the enlargement a debt was incurred, which for several years was secured by a mortgage of the property, an act always opposed by the rector. The cost of the enlargement was nearly four thousand dollars.

From this time forward, for twelve years, there was no important change in the church-building or the congregation.

The thirtieth anniversary of the consecration occurred March 16, 1855. The wardens and vestry requested the rector to deliver an address suited to the occasion. Invitations were extended to all the clergy who were present in 1825, as well as to many of the clergy of the diocese, and to as many of the former parishioners as could be reached. The church was crowded both morning and evening. At the latter service it was lighted for the first time with gas by one hundred and fifty burners arranged about the cornice. The lighting before that time was with sperm oil in lamps suspended by iron rods on either side of the two alleys. The "offertory" at the morning service was \$4,308.66, it having been previously understood that it should be applied to the payment of the existing debt, and that any balance should be a free-will offering to the rector. The last-named was over two hundred dollars. There were present of the original choir over a hundred singers. In the printed account of the services there are the names of twenty of the singers, every one of whom is numbered with the departed.

On the fifteenth day of February, 1856, a committee of three, representing the congregation, made a formal demand in writing, for the parsonage, then occupied by the agent of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, which demand the company refused to comply with. A suit was then brought by the church against the company to recover the money which the parish had paid for the church-building in 1842, and also to again obtain the use of the parsonage for the rector, from which use he had then been deprived for about thirteen years.

The lawyers employed by the society were Hon. Joel Parker, of Boston, Hon. John P. Robinson, Benjamin F. Butler, Esq., and William P. Webster, Esq., of Lowell, all of whom had examined the deeds, and were not only convinced of the justice of the claim but of the certainty of recovering the property.

The counsel on the side of the company were Hon. Rufus Choate, and Hon. F. B. Crowinshield, of Boston, and S. A. Brown, Esq., of Lowell.

The arguments in the case were made for the church by Robinson and Butler, and by Hon. J. G. Abbott and Charles F. Blake, Esq., respectively, for the company.

By agreement of counsel on both sides, all the facts were submitted to the Supreme Judicial Court of this commonwealth, in April, 1856, with the further agreement that the decision of said court should be final.

The "*Information*," so called, is "at and by the relation of the Rev. Theodore Edson, D. D., rector of St. Anne's Church in Lowell, James H. B. Ayer and George H. Carleton, wardens, and Elisha Huntington, Cyril French, Dennis Fay, James S. Russell, Benjamin C. Sargeant, and Charles Hovey (treasurer) and John O. Green (vestry clerk), *ex-officio*, vestrymen of said church,

all of Lowell." It is published in a book of nearly a hundred pages, entitled: "The Attorney-General, *ex-relazione*. Rector, Wardens and Vestry of St. Anne's Church in Lowell vs. Merrimack Manufacturing Company. Supreme Judicial Court. Middlesex."

Another book of lesser size but of similar import, containing important correspondence, etc., was also printed for the use of the court. From these two books many of the facts of this paper are taken. Copies of both of them were placed in the library of the Middlesex Mechanics' Association at the time.

The decision of the court was delayed almost four years, during which time one of the five judges had died and another had been appointed in his place. It was rendered adversely to the parish in January, 1860, and is reported in Vol. 80 of "Massachusetts Reports," 14th Gray, occupying twenty-seven pages.

To the common mind this case seems to have established two principles, viz., the inadequacy of the English language to convey inherent ideas (see the original deed), and secondly the uncertainty of law in this country. The counsel for the church discovered that the language of the deed was copied from an English deed made to accomplish a similar object. The experience has also illustrated another principle, viz., that organized bodies when *compelled* to exert themselves thereby gain strength, as when the gratuitous lease had expired the congregation was almost immediately obliged to enlarge its accommodations.

Two important events marked the history of the church in 1857. Early in that year it was decided by the parish to change the arrangement of the pews, making three alleys and six rows of pews, where only two alleys and four rows had before occupied the same

space. Besides the convenience to worshippers, the revenue was largely increased by the change. The other event of importance was the presentation, with public ceremony, of a chime of bells. These were procured through the persistent instrumentality of Mr. George Hedrick in obtaining individual subscriptions amounting to about four thousand dollars. Several localities for their reception were named, and included the City Hall and the depot. The tower of St. Anne's had the advantage of being near both of these places, and also the advantage of a permanent body to secure their perpetual care and use. A full account of the history of the bells, the ceremony of their reception, and other facts, has been recently published, and appears with other papers of this Association. In this connection it may be well to mention the fact that the bell of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company was rung for divine service, from the beginning of religious services on Sundays, for a period of thirty years, and long after the church had ceased to be the property of that corporation.

On the 16th day of March, 1865, it being the fortieth anniversary of the consecration, the day was duly observed. It occurred on the third Sunday in Lent, and was honored by the presence of five clergymen, including Rt. Rev. Thomas M. Clark, Bishop of Rhode Island, a former parishioner, and Rev. Dr. Ducachet, of Philadelphia, who was present at the consecration in 1825.

A pleasing feature of this commemoration was the use of black and white drapery about the chancel, above which, in letters large enough to be read anywhere in church, the inscription,—“Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.” Upon the walls of the chancel were hung numerous black-walnut tablets, each inscribed in gilt let-

ters the names of prominent men, with the date of their departure, respectively, who had been connected with the parish.

Among the large congregation present it is not supposed there were ten who witnessed the consecration forty years before. At this writing there are but two remaining in the parish who were present on that day.

Early in the year 1866, a subscription was started to purchase the parsonage, and in the fiftieth anniversary sermon the rector says, — "The enterprise, by the blessing of God and the very generous subscription of friends inside and outside the parish, — outside as well as inside the city, — to all of whom I here repeat my most thankful acknowledgments, was successful." Subscriptions were obtained to the amount of \$16,857.20. The parish was then put in possession of the property. The needful preparations were soon made, and the rector's family moved into the premises May 21, 1866, after an absence of more than twenty-three years.

From the sermon before alluded to, the following facts are selected : —

When the papers transferring the property of the parsonage had been fully adjusted, it was thought proper to make some acknowledgment to Almighty God for these gracious gifts. The 20th of June was fixed upon and duly notified as the day. The services were attended by five clergymen and a good congregation and appropriate music. In the evening there was a reception at the parsonage house and grounds, where it was estimated that from a thousand to fifteen hundred persons tendered congratulations.

On the 6th day of April, 1866, the Merrimack Manufacturing Company conveyed to Benjamin F. Butler, John O. Green, William A. Burke, James B. Francis and

George Motley, all of whom were among those who had paid one thousand dollars each, the parsonage, the consideration being \$14,250. The deed described the entire "St. Anne's Church Lot," and included previous conveyances to the "Proprietors of St. Anne's Church," but contained no conditions whatever.

On the following 15th day of June, the gentlemen above named, "in consideration of one dollar to each of us in hand paid, and for the purpose of aiding St. Anne's Church in the promotion of religious, charitable and educational objects, according to the forms, canons and rites of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, conveyed the same to "the rector, wardens and vestry of St. Anne's Church, Lowell."

This deed is drawn with great care and with the same object in view as was thought to have been expressed in the original deed from the Proprietors of Locks and Canals to the Merrimack Manufacturing Company. It further provides that in case of any breach of conditions the property and all income thereof shall revert to the surviving heirs "for the use of the Trustees of Donations to the Protestant Episcopal Church, to be held by them for the benefit of the same church in Lowell."

From the foregoing it will be observed that the title now seems to be where it belongs, and it is presumed to be indisputable. In the course of years there have been exchanges and releases, etc., of strips of land, all of which have been classified by a competent engineer, and are shown on plans filed with the treasurer, who is also custodian of the deeds.

The long-lived rector departed this life June 25, 1883, in the sixtieth year of his labor in the parish, leaving two assistants to continue his work, much of which

they had relieved him of for several years. One of these, Rev. Mr. Johnson, left at the end of the following August, and the other, Rev. Mr. Gilliat, remained till the end of February, 1884. The interval between the last date and May 15th next following, when Rev. A. St. John Chambré became rector of the parish, was supplied by visiting bishops and clergymen employed by the wardens and vestry.

It was understood, and in fact was stipulated, that the church and parsonage, both of which had become dilapidated, should be repaired if Rev. Dr. Chambré accepted the call which had been extended. A subscription was prepared, and in two weeks nearly nineteen thousand dollars was raised to pay existing debts and to make important repairs.

The addition of a new chancel and organ-room was begun early in the spring, and was occupied at the consecration of the new chancel November 20, 1884,—an organ of the value of \$5,325 having been placed in the organ-room, in addition to the sums before mentioned.

The memorial windows are a conspicuous feature of St. Anne's Church. They have all been placed there since the forty-fifth anniversary of the consecration. Inasmuch as they commemorate persons prominent not only in the church, but in this community as well, it is proper to record them here, in the order they have been received:—

First. By Dr. John O. Green and William A. Burke, Esq.; in two parts. Two female figures, representing "Charity" and "Devotion,"—prominent characteristics in their wives respectively, in whose memories they were presented.

Second. By the widow of the late George H. Carleton, representing "The Annunciation" (*St. Luke* i. 26), in memory of her husband, who for many years was one of the wardens of the church.

Third. By Mrs. Eliza C. Davis, representing the "Descent of

the Holy Ghost" (*Acts* ii.), a memorial of her father and mother, the late Jesse Phelps and wife, who were among the earliest attendants at the church.

Fourth. By the late Elihu S. Hunt and his son-in-law, the late Albert G. Cook, Esq., "The Nativity" (*St. Luke* ii.), in memory of their wives respectively.

The three windows of the new chancel, intended as a memorial to Rev. Theodore Edson, D. D., added in 1884, are described by the committee in charge on the completion of their work, as follows, viz.: —

"The committee, after consultation, unanimously agreed to illustrate the subject described in the portion of Scripture appointed 'for the Epistle' for 'Trinity Sunday,' a festival notably observed by the late rector during his life. It is fully described in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Revelation of St. John. The subject was given to several artists in the large cities, all of whom had reputation for doing good work. Illustrative designs were received from three firms, respectively, and each of the designs had merits peculiar to itself. The design selected was from the establishment of McPherson, of Boston, whose firm had previously placed three memorial windows in the church."

There are still four windows in the body of the church which have been filled with ornamental colored glass, until they shall be wanted for memorials.

The changes involved in the renovation of 1884 are mainly confined to the interior, and consist in the removal of the gallery and the stairs leading thereto, the removal of the old chancel and the rooms on either side of it, by which the entire floor space enclosed within the walls is occupied by the worshippers. The new chancel opening from it, with the organ-room on the west, and the sacristy on the east side, occupies the entire width of the church, and is about thirty-six feet deep. Large doors opening from either side, a re-arrangement of gas lights, and changes in the locality of the old pulpit and

of the font, complete all the noticeable alterations in the old structure.

There yet remains to be done, it is hoped, in the approaching spring, a covering of the present tower, by which it will be practicable to raise the chime of bells nearly twenty feet. The moderate sum left at the completion of the hanging of the bells, with the accumulated interest of twenty-seven years, will nearly pay for this improvement, so long desired by the contributors.

In closing, it may be well to mention that in addition to the improvements already described the parish has erected a chapel and a Sunday School house, both of stone, and connected them with the church. The parsonage, also of stone, has within it a "Rector's Library" of several thousand volumes, all of which have been paid for by individual subscriptions and donations.

During the life of the late rector, the library was largely augmented by the gratuitous contribution of his own private library, on the condition that an offertory shall be taken for its increase, once a year in the church.

The buildings all stand on the same acre of ground, with streets on three sides, in the middle of a city containing seventy thousand people.

With a new rector, a new organ, a renovated church, and with many of the adjuncts of an English cathedral, St. Anne's will be in a fair way to largely extend its usefulness when it shall have reached its sixtieth anniversary on the 16th day of next March.

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OF

THE OLD RESIDENTS'

Historical Association,

LOWELL, MASS.



ORGANIZED DECEMBER 21, 1868.

Vol. III. No. 4.

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CONTENTS.

XXIV.	Kirk Boott and his experience in the British Army, by James B. Francis...	325
XXV.	Whistler, George W., Life and Works of, by George L. Vose....	334
XXVI.	Nesmith, Thomas and John, Memoirs of, by C. C. Chase.....	365
XXVII.	Knowles, John A., Sketch of, by J. K. Fellows.....	375
XXVIII.	Address before the G. A. R. by Rev. A. St. John Chambré.....	381
XXIX.	Bartlett, Homer, Life and Character of, by J. S. Russell.....	394
XXX.	Lowell in 1826, by A. B. Wright.....	402



Very truly yours
James B. Francis

XXIV. *Kirk Boott and his experience in the British Army, read by James B. Francis, May 5, 1887.*

A FEW months since I learned that a letter had been received by a member of the Boott family of Boston, from the Rev. George R. Gleig, an Englishman, making inquiries about the late Kirk Boott, with whom he was associated in the British army. As anything relating to Mr. Boott could not fail to be interesting to the members of the Old Residents' Historical Association, I ventured to write to Mr. Gleig, asking for information relating to him, and have received the following letter in reply.

BYLANDS, WINCHFIELD, HANTS,
9th of April, 1887.

DEAR SIR—I have delayed replying to your letter of 12th of March, in the hope that I might be able to find out for you some scraps of knowledge bearing on the early education of my old comrade, Kirk Boott. I am sorry to say that I cannot trace his career further back than the period in which he joined the 85th Light Infantry, nor follow it beyond his retirement from that regiment. I am still prosecuting my inquiries, and should they bring me any information worth transmitting I shall not fail to send it on.

By way of preface to what follows, I must tell you that prior to the year 1813, the 85th, though an excellent fighting regiment, was so torn by factions among the officers, that the Duke of York, then commander-in-chief, after trying every other plan for restoring concord among them, made up his mind to disperse them all through different regiments in the service, and to bring in a set entirely new, from the colonel commanding down to the youngest ensign. To be selected as one of this body of young men was a great compliment.

It showed that in the regiment from which they were moved into the 85th they had been well thought of, and in this compliment Kirk Boott and I equally shared. From what regiment he came I never enquired, but we joined the 85th at Hythe in Kent, on the same day, he, I think, as a lieutenant and I an ensign.

We went with the regiment to Spain, and on the 19th of August, 1813, landed at Passages. He was present at all the actions of which I have given an account in the Subaltern, viz.: the capture of San Sabastian, the passages of the Bidaossa, the battle of the Nieve, and the Nivelle, the latter lasting four days, the passage of the Garonne and the siege of Bayonne. He, like myself, was too young an officer ever to be entrusted with a separate command, but he was a gallant soldier and a great favorite in the corps. He was, moreover, remarkably good looking and one of the best billiard players I ever saw.

The 85th being ordered to America, Boott, like a good patriot, refused to accompany it. He left us before we began our march to Bordeaux; he embarked at Passages for England. What became of him afterwards I do not know. I returned with the 85th to England in May, 1815, and after serving with it a year or two in various home stations I also retired from the army.

I see that in your sketch of him you state that he studied at what was then our staff college, the senior department at Sandhurst; it may have been so, but I never saw or heard of him after bidding him good-bye in the camp under the walls of Bayonne.

This letter will, I fear, be of little use to you. I do not like, however, to leave yours any longer unanswered, and will supplement my story with further details, if at a future period I obtain further information.

It is evident to me that Kirk Book exhibited the same energy in civil life that he did as an officer in the British army. He really was a very fine fellow.

Sincerely yours,

G. R. GLEIG.

JAMES B. FRANCIS, Esq.

I learn from other sources that Mr. Gleig is now in his ninety-first year, and is a prominent Episcopal clergyman, and was chaplain-general of the British army from 1844 to 1872.

I found in the library of the Boston Athenæum, "The Subaltern," referred to in Mr. Gleig's letter, as

containing an account of the actions in which he and Mr. Kirk Boott were engaged in Spain and France. Mr. Boott was about twenty-three years old when he joined the 85th Light Infantry as a lieutenant, in May, 1813, with Mr. Gleig, who was about seven years younger. As Mr. Boott's experience in the British army must have had an important effect in fitting him for the position he subsequently held in Lowell, I have made some extracts from *The Subaltern*, giving an account of it.

The 85th Light Infantry landed at Passages, in the north of Spain, about ten miles from St. Sabastian, August 18, 1813. The siege of St. Sabastian, occupied by the French, was then in progress. On the night of July 24th an attempt had been made to take the place by assault, which failed. The siege, however, was not abandoned, and the 85th Light Infantry was ordered to take part in it.

An additional force of artillery having been provided, on the morning of August 27 the batteries, consisting of sixty pieces of artillery of eighteen to sixty-four pounders and twenty mortars, opened fire, which was continued to the evening of the 30th, when two breaches in the rampart had been made. In front of the rampart was the river Gurumea, which was fordable at low tide. Noon of August 31 had barely passed when the low state of the tide giving evidence that the river might be forded, the word was given for the forlorn hope of the storming party to advance. Silent as the grave, the columns moved forward. In one instant the leading files had cleared the trenches and the others followed in quick succession, when the work of death began. The enemy having reserved their fire till the head of the column had gained the middle of the stream, then opened with the most deadly effect. Grape, canister, musketry, shells,

grenades, and every species of missile, were hurled from the ramparts, beneath which our gallant fellows dropped like corn before the reaper, insomuch that in the space of about two minutes the river was literally choked up with the bodies of the killed and wounded, over whom, without discrimination, the advancing divisions pressed on. The opposite bank was soon gained, and the short space between the landing-place and the foot of the breach rapidly cleared, without a single shot having been returned by the assailants. But here the most alarming prospect awaited them. Instead of a wide and tolerably level chasm, the breach presented the appearance of an ill-built wall, thrown considerably from its perpendicular, to ascend which, even though unopposed, would be no easy task. It was, however, too late to pause; besides, men's blood was hot, and their courage on fire; so they pressed on, clambering up as they best could, and effectually hindering one another from falling back, by the eagerness of the rear rank to follow those in front. Shouts and groans were now mingled with the roar of cannon and the rattle of musketry; our front ranks likewise had an opportunity of occasionally firing with effect, and the slaughter on both sides was dreadful.

At length the head of the column forced its way to the summit of the breach, where it was met in the most gallant style by the bayonets of the garrison. When I say the summit of the breach, I mean not to assert that our soldiers stood upon a level with their enemies, for this was not the case. There was a high step, perhaps two or three feet in height, which the assailants must surmount before they could gain the same ground with the defenders, and a very considerable period elapsed ere that step was surmounted. Here bayonet met bayonet, and sabre met sabre in close and desperate strife, without

the one party being able to advance or the other succeeding in driving them back. Things had continued in this state for nearly a quarter of an hour, when Major Snodgrass, at the head of the 13th Portuguese regiment, dashed across the river by his own ford, and assaulted the lesser breach. This attack was made in the most cool and determined manner; but here, too, the obstacles were almost insurmountable, nor is it probable that the place would have been carried at all, but for a measure adopted by General Graham, such as perhaps had never been adopted before. Perceiving that matters were almost desperate, he had recourse to a desperate remedy, and ordered our artillery to fire upon the breach. Nothing could be more exact or beautiful than this practice. Though our men stood only about two feet below the breach, scarcely a single ball from the guns of our batteries struck amongst them, while all told with fearful exactness among the enemy. This fire had been kept up only a very few minutes when all at once an explosion took place such as drowned every other noise and apparently confounded, for an instant, the combatants on both sides. A shell from one of our mortars had exploded near the train, which communicated with a quantity of gunpowder placed under the breach. This mine the French had intended to spring as soon as our troops should have made good their footing or established themselves on the summit, but the fortunate accident just mentioned anticipated them. It exploded when three hundred grenadiers, the *élite* of the garrison, stood over it, and instead of sweeping the storming party into eternity, it only cleared a way for their advance. It was a spectacle as appalling and grand as the imagination can conceive, the sight of that explosion. The noise was more awful than any which I have ever heard before or

since. Both parties stood still to gaze upon the havoc which had been produced, insomuch that a whisper might have caught your ear for a distance of several yards.

The state of stupefaction into which they were thrown at first, did not, however, last long with the British troops. As the smoke and dust of the ruins cleared away they beheld before them a space empty of defenders, and they instantly rushed forward to occupy it. Uttering an appalling shout the troops sprang over the dilapidated parapet, and the rampart was their own. Now then began all those maddening scenes, which are witnessed only in a successful storm, of flight and slaughter, and parties rallying only to be broken and dispersed, till finally, having cleared the works to the right and left, the soldiers poured down into the town.

To reach the streets they were obliged to leap about fifteen feet, or to make their way through the burning houses which joined the wall. Both courses were adopted, according as different parties were guided in their pursuit of the flying enemy; and here again the battle was renewed. The French fought with desperate courage; they were literally driven from house to house and street to street, nor was it till a late hour in the evening that all opposition on their part ceased. Then, however, the governor, with little more than a thousand men, retired into the castle, whilst another detachment of perhaps two hundred, shut themselves up in a convent.

As soon as the fighting began to wax faint, the horrors of plunder and rapine succeeded. Fortunately there were few females in the place, but of the fate of the few which were there I cannot even now think without a shudder. The houses were everywhere ransacked, the furniture wantonly broken, the churches profaned, the images dashed to pieces, wine and spirit cellars were

broken open, and the troops, heated already with angry passions, became absolutely mad by intoxication. All order and discipline were abandoned. The officers had no longer the slightest control over their men, who on the contrary controlled the officers; nor is it by any means certain that several of the latter did not fall by the hands of the former, when they vainly attempted to bring them back to a sense of subordination.

Night had now set in, but the darkness was effectually dispelled by the glare from burning houses, which one after another took fire. The morning of August 31st had risen upon St. Sabastian, as neat and regularly built a town as any in Spain; long before midnight it was one sheet of flame, and by noon on the following day little remained of it except its smoking ashes. The houses being lofty, like those in the old town of Edinburgh, and the streets straight and narrow, the fire flew from one to another with extraordinary rapidity. At first some attempts were made to extinguish it, but these soon proved useless, and then the only matter to be considered was how personally to escape its violence. Many a migration was accordingly effected from house to house, till at last houses enough to shelter all could no longer be found, and the streets became the place of rest to the majority.

The spectacle which then presented was truly shocking. A strong light falling upon them from the burning houses, disclosed crowds of dead, dying and intoxicated men, huddled indiscriminately together. Carpets, rich tapestry beds, curtains, wearing apparel, and everything valuable to persons in common life, were carelessly scattered about upon the bloody pavement, whilst ever and anon fresh bundles of these were thrown from the windows above. Now you would see a drunken fellow whirl-

ing a string of watches around his head, and then dashing them against the wall; then another, more provident, stuffing his bosom with such smaller articles as he most prized. Next would come a party rolling a cask of wine or spirits before them, with loud exclamations, which in an instant was tapped and in an incredibly short space of time emptied of its contents. Then the ceaseless hum of conversation, the occasional laugh and wild shout of intoxication, the pitiable cries or deep moans of the wounded, and the uninterrupted roar of the flames, produced altogether such a concert as no man who listened to it can ever forget.

Of these various noises the greater number now began to subside as night passed on, and long before dawn there was a fearful silence. Sleep had succeeded inebriety with the bulk of the army. Of the poor wretches who groaned and shrieked three hours ago many had expired, and the very fire had almost wasted itself by consuming everything on which it could feed. Nothing, therefore, could now be heard, except an occasional faint moan, scarcely distinguishable from the heavy breathing of the sleepers, and even that was soon heard no more.

The besiegers lost about twenty-five hundred men, and the besieged about three thousand, besides nine hundred, the remains of the garrison, prisoners of war.

Various marches, skirmishes, and rest in winter quarters, occupied the time until February 23, 1814, when they arrived before the city of Bayonne, which was strongly fortified and garrisoned by about fifteen thousand picked men of the French army under the command of General Thouvenot; the main French army under Marshal Soult being in the immediate neighborhood. The city was regularly invested, and the siege

soon after was commenced. About midnight of April 11, intelligence arrived that the allies were in possession of Paris, and that Bonaparte had abdicated. This of course put an end to the war, and a flag of truce was sent into the city with the information. General Thouvenot refused to credit it; he had received, he said, no official communication from Marshal Soult, his immediate commanding officer. Under these circumstances no proposals were made on either side to cease from hostilities. Three days after, at three o'clock in the morning, we were waked up by heavy firing, and found that a desperate sortie had taken place, and in less than a quarter of an hour we were hotly engaged in action. A terrible fight was kept up until daylight, when the French were driven back into the city, losing upwards of a thousand men, the allies losing about nine hundred.

Soon after this General Thouvenot received an official order, which he considered himself bound to obey, and an armistice followed which ended hostilities, and on the morning of the 28th of April the white flag of the Bourbon was hoisted over the ramparts of the city. On the 8th of May the regiment struck its tents and commenced its march to Bordeaux, from which port it sailed for America, where it took part in the actions near Washington and subsequently in the battle of New Orleans.

XXV. A Sketch of the Life and Works of George W. Whistler, Civil Engineer, by George L. Vose, President of the Boston Society of Civil Engineers.

[In placing my name at the head of this sketch, I do so more as a compiler than as an author. My only object has been to collect such facts, from those of our older engineers who knew Major Whistler, as would enable me to place before the younger members of the profession some record of one of its most brilliant ornaments; to hold up an illustrious example of all that is worthy of imitation; to show them something of one who was equally admired as an engineer, and beloved as a man. Whatever of value may be found in the sketch must be credited to that rapidly decreasing band of veteran engineers who have recalled for me their early years and their early labors; men who saw the beginning of the railroad system in America, and many of whom had the good fortune to begin their career under the great master whose memory is so fondly cherished by all who were connected with him. Not only have I availed myself to the fullest extent of the recollections of these men, without which I could have done nothing; but I have also used their exact language whenever I could, as the reader is thus placed in closer communication with the subject of the sketch than would be possible in any other way. It is a most delightful thing to see how the old enthusiasm and the youthful admiration of these veterans in the profession kindle anew as they recall their early service under Major Whistler. It was indeed no common man who could inspire his assistants and associates, and who could leave so indelible an impression, not only upon their minds, but in their hearts.

I am especially indebted for the material which is here presented, to Gen. George S. Greene of New York, to Col. Julius W. Adams of Brooklyn, to Messrs. William Raymond Lee and Charles S. Storrow of Boston, to James B. Francis of Lowell, and to the



George H. Williams

late E. S. Chesborough of Chicago, nearly all of whom in their early life were associated with Major Whistler. I am also under obligations to Dr. William Gibbs McNeill Whistler of London, to G. H. Prince, Esq., of St. Petersburg, to Messrs. William E. Worthen and John Bogart of New York, to Mrs. Gen. D. H. Rucker of Washington, to Lieut. G. N. Whistler of the United States Army, to Thomas D. Whistler of Tarrytown, to the superintendent of the United States Military Academy, to Dr. George D. Stanton of Stonington, to Samuel Nott of Hartford, to E. H. Hazard of Providence, and to John B. Winslow and Joseph Ropes of Boston. The officers of the several libraries in Boston, and of the historical societies in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, have aided me in many ways in obtaining information; and the managers of the several railroads with which Major Whistler was connected have given me access at all times to their archives.

The portrait given here is from an engraving published in New York about the time of Major Whistler's death, and shows him in the prime of manhood. It is considered an excellent likeness by those who knew him.

In conclusion, I may use the words of one of America's foremost engineers, who even as I write has closed his long and useful life, leaving behind a reputation unsurpassed for sound judgment, great practical ability, and the most sterling worth: "Whenever the true historian of civil engineering in this country shall arise, he will give to Major Whistler a position of which its younger members to-day appear to have no conception, and of which many of the older appear to have very inadequate ideas."]

FEW persons, even among those best acquainted with our modern railroad system, are aware of the early struggles of the men to whose foresight, energy and skill the new mode of transportation owes its introduction into this country. The railroad problem in the United States was quite a different one from that in Europe. Had we simply copied the railways of England, we should have ruined the system at the outset for this country. In England, where the railroad had its origin, money was plenty, the land was densely popu-

lated, and the demand for rapid and cheap transportation already existed. A great many short lines connecting the great centres of industry were required, and for the construction of such in the most substantial manner the money was easily obtained. In America, on the contrary, a land of enormous extent, almost entirely undeveloped, but of great possibilities, lines of hundreds and even thousands of miles in extent were to be made, to connect cities as yet unborn, and to accommodate a future traffic of which no one could possibly foresee the amount. Money was scarce, and in many districts the natural obstacles to be overcome were infinitely greater than any which had presented themselves to European engineers.

By the sound practical sense and the unconquerable will of George Stephenson, the numerous inventions which together made up the locomotive-engine had been combined in a machine, which, in connection with the improved roadway, was to revolutionize the transportation of the world. The railroad as a machine was invented. It remained to apply the new invention in such a manner as to make it a success, and not a failure. To do this in a new country like America, required infinite skill, unbounded energy, the most careful study of local conditions, and the exercise of well-matured, sound business judgment. To see how well the great invention has been applied in the United States, we have only to look at the network of iron roads which now reaches from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

With all the experience we have had, it is not an easy problem, even at the present time, to determine how much money we are authorized to spend upon the construction of a given railroad. To secure the utmost benefit, at the least outlay, regarding both the first cost

of building the road, and the perpetual cost of operating it, is the railroad problem which is, perhaps, less understood at the present day than any other. It was an equally important problem fifty years ago, and certainly not less difficult at that time. It was the fathers of the railroad system in the United States who first perceived the importance of this problem, and who, adapting themselves to the new conditions presented in this country, undertook to solve it. Among the pioneers in this branch of engineering, no one has done more to establish correct methods, or has left behind a more enviable or a more enduring fame, than Major George W. Whistler.

The Whistler family is of English origin, and is found towards the end of the fifteenth century in Oxfordshire, at Goring and Whitechurch, on the Thames. One branch of the family settled in Sussex, at Hastings and Battle, being connected by marriage with the Websters of Battle Abbey, in which neighborhood some of the family still live. Another branch lived in Essex, from which came Dr. Daniel Whistler, president of the College of Physicians in London in the time of Charles II., a person frequently mentioned in "Pepys' Diary." From the Oxfordshire branch came Ralph, son of Hugh Whistler of Goring, who went to Ireland, and there founded the Irish branch of the family; being the original tenant of a large tract of country in Ulster under one of the guilds, or public companies, of the city of London. From this branch of the family came Major John Whistler, father of the distinguished engineer, and the first representative of the family in America. It is stated that in some youthful freak he ran away, and enlisted in the British army. It is certain that he came to this country during the Revolutionary War, under Gen. Burgoyne, and remained with his command until its

surrender at Saratoga, when he was taken prisoner of war. Upon his return to England he was honorably discharged; and soon after, forming an attachment for a daughter of Sir Edward Bishop, a friend of his father, he eloped with her, and came to this country, settling at Hagerstown in Maryland. He soon after entered the army of the United States, and served in the ranks, being severely wounded in the disastrous campaign against the Indians under Major-Gen. St. Clair, in the year 1791. He was afterwards commissioned as lieutenant, rose to the rank of captain, and later had the brevet of major. At the reduction of the army in 1815, having already two sons in the service, he was not retained; but in recognition of his honorable record he was appointed military-storekeeper at Newport, Ky., from which post he was afterwards transferred to Jefferson Barracks, a short distance below St. Louis, where he lived to a good old age, and died, and was buried.

Major John Whistler had a large family of sons and daughters, among whom we may note particularly: William, who became a colonel in the United States Army, and who died at Newport, Ky., in 1863; John, a lieutenant in the army, who died of wounds received in the battle of Maguago, near Detroit, in 1812; and George Washington, the subject of our sketch. Major John Whistler was not only a good soldier, and highly esteemed for his military services, but was also a man of refined tastes and well educated; being an uncommonly good linguist, and especially noted as a fine musician. In his family he is stated to have united firmness with tenderness, and to have impressed upon his children the importance of a faithful and thorough performance of duty, in whatever position they should be placed.

George Washington Whistler, the youngest son of

Major John Whistler, was born on the 19th of May, in the year 1800, at Fort Wayne, in the present State of Indiana, but then a part of the North-west Territory, his father being at the time in command of that post. Of the boyhood of George Whistler we have no record, except that he followed his parents from one military station to another, receiving his early education, for the most part, at Newport, Ky., from which place, on July 31, 1814, he was appointed a cadet to the United States Military Academy, being then fourteen years of age.

The course of the student at West Point was a very satisfactory one. Owing to a change in the arrangement of the classes after his entrance, he had the advantage of a longer term than had been given to those who preceded him, remaining five years under instruction. His record during his student life was good throughout. In a class of thirty members he stood number one in drawing, number four in descriptive geometry, number five in drill, number eleven in philosophy and in engineering, number twelve in mathematics, and number ten in general merit. He was remarkable, says one who knew him at this time, for his frank and open manner, and for his pleasant and cheerful disposition. A good story is told of the young cadet, which shows his ability, even at this time, to make the best of circumstances apparently untoward, and to turn to his advantage his surroundings, whatever they might be. Having been, for some slight breach of discipline, required to bestride a gun in the campus for a short time, he saw, to his dismay, coming down the walk the beautiful daughter of Dr. Foster Swift, a young lady who, visiting West Point, had taken the hearts of the cadets by storm; and who, little as he may at the time have dreamed it, was destined to become his future wife. Pulling out his handkerchief, he

bent over his gun, and appeared absorbed in cleaning the most inaccessible parts of it with such vigor as to be entirely unaware that any one was passing; nor did the young lady dream that a case of discipline had been before her, until in after years, when on a visit to West Point, an explanation was made to her by her husband.

It was at this time of his life, that the refinement and taste for which Major Whistler was ever after noted began to show itself. An accomplished scientific musician and performer, he gained a reputation in this direction beyond that of a mere amateur, and scarcely below that of the professionals of the day. His nickname, "Pipes," which his skill upon the flute at this time gave him, adhered to him through life among his intimates in the army. His skill with the pencil, too, was something phenomenal, and would, but for more serious duties, have made him as distinguished an artist as he was an engineer. Fortunately for the world, this talent descended to one of his sons, and in his hands has had full development. These tastes in Whistler appeared to be less the results of study on his part than the spontaneous out-growth of a refined and delicate organization, and so far constitutional with him that they seemed to tinge his entire character. They continued to be developed till past the meridian of life, and amid all the pressure of graver duties furnished a most delightful relaxation.

Upon completing his course at the Military Academy, he was graduated, July 1, 1819, and appointed second lieutenant in the Corps of Artillery. From this date until 1821 he served, part of the time on topographical duty, and part of the time he was in garrison at Fort Columbus. From Nov. 2, 1821, to April 30, 1822, he was assistant professor at the Military Academy, a posi-

tion for which his attainments in descriptive geometry and his skill in drawing especially fitted him. This employment, however, was not altogether to his taste. He was too much of an artist to wish to confine himself to the mechanical methods needed in the training of engineering students. In 1822, although belonging to the artillery, he was detailed on topographical duty, under Major (afterwards Col.) Abert, and was connected with the commission employed in tracing the international boundary between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods. This work continued during the four years from 1822 to 1826, and subsequent duties in the cabinet of the commission employed nearly two years more. The field service of this engagement was anything but light work; much of it being performed in the depth of winter, with a temperature fifty degrees below zero. The principal food of the party was tallow and some other substance, which was warmed over a fire on stopping at night. The snow was then removed to a sufficient depth for a bed, and the party wrapped one another up in their buffalo-robcs until the last man's turn came, when he had to wrap himself up the best he could. In the morning, after warming their food and eating, the remainder was allowed to harden in the pan, after which it was carried on the backs of men to the next stopping-place. The work was all done upon snow-shoes; and occasionally a man became so blinded by the glare of the sun upon the snow, that he had to be led by a rope.

Upon the 1st of June, 1821, Whistler was made second lieutenant in the First Artillery in the re-organized army. On the 16th of August, 1821, he was transferred to the Second Artillery; and on the 16th of August, 1829, he was made first lieutenant. Although belonging in the artillery, he was assigned to topograph-

ical duty almost continually until Dec. 31, 1833, when he resigned his position in the army. A large part of his time during this period was spent in making surveys, plans, and estimates for public works; not merely those needed by the National Government, but others, which were undertaken by chartered companies in different parts of the United States. There were at that time very few educated engineers in the country besides the graduates of the Military Academy; and the army engineers were, therefore, frequently applied for by private corporations, and for several years Government granted their services.

Prominent among the early works of internal improvement was the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; and the managers of this undertaking had been successful in obtaining the services of several officers who were then eminent, or afterwards became so. The names of Dr. Howard,—who, though not a military man, had been attached to the corps of engineers,—of Lieut.-Col. Long, and of Capt. William Gibbs McNeill, appear in the proceedings of the company as “Chiefs of Brigade;” and those of Fessenden, Gwynne, and Trimble, among the assistants.

In October, 1828, this company made a special request for the services of Lieut. Whistler. The directors had resolved on sending a deputation to England to examine the railroads of that country; and Jonathan Knight, William Gibbs McNeill, and George W. Whistler were selected for this duty. They were also accompanied by Ross Winans, whose fame and fortune, together with that of his sons, became so widely known afterwards in connection with the great Russian railway. Lieut. Whistler was chosen for this service, says one who knew him well, on account of his remarkable thoroughness in all the

details of his profession, as well as for his superior qualifications in other respects. The party left this country in November, 1828, and returned in May, 1829.

In the course of the following year, the organization of the road, a part of which had already been constructed under the immediate personal supervision of Lieut. Whistler, assumed a more permanent form, and allowed the military engineers to be transferred to other undertakings of a similar character. Accordingly, in June, 1830, Capt. McNeill and Lieut. Whistler were sent to the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad, for which they made the preliminary surveys and a definite location; and upon which they remained until about twenty miles were completed, when a lack of funds caused a temporary suspension of the work. In the latter part of 1831, Lieut. Whistler went to New Jersey to aid in the construction of the Paterson and Hudson-River Railroad (now a part of the Erie Railway). Upon this work he remained until 1833, at which time he moved to Connecticut to take charge of the location of the railroad from Providence to Stonington, a line which had been proposed as an extension of the road already in process of construction from Boston to Providence.

In this year, Dec. 31, 1833, Lieut. Whistler resigned his commission in the army; and this not so much from choice as from a sense of duty. Hitherto his work as an engineer appears to have been more in the nature of an employment than a vocation. He carried on his undertakings diligently, as it was his nature to do, but without much anxiety or enthusiasm; and he was satisfied with meeting difficulties, as they came up, with a sufficient solution. Henceforward he followed his profession from a love of it. He labored that his resources against the demands of matter and space should be over-abundant;

and if he had before been content with the sure-footed facts of observation, he now added the luminous aid of study. How luminous and how sure these combined became, his later works show best.

In 1834 Mr. Whistler accepted the position of engineer to the Proprietors of Locks and Canals at Lowell. This position gave him, among other things, the direction of the machine shops, which had been made principally for the construction of locomotive engines. The Boston and Lowell Railroad, which at this time was in process of construction, had imported a locomotive from the works of George and Robert Stephenson at Newcastle, and this engine was to be reproduced, not only for the use of the Lowell road, but for other railways as well; and to this work Whistler gave a large part of his time from 1834 to 1837. The making of these engines illustrated well the features in his character which then and ever after were of the utmost value to those for whom he worked. It shows the self-denial with which he excluded any novelties of his own, the caution with which he admitted those of others, and the judgment which he exercised in selecting and combining the most meritorious of existing arrangements. His preference for what was simple and had been tried did not arise from a want of originality, as he had abundant occasion to show during the whole of his engineering life. He was, indeed, uncommonly fertile in expedients, as all who knew him testify; and the greater the demand upon his originality, the higher did he rise to meet the occasion. The time spent in Lowell was not only to the great advantage of the company, but it increased also his own stores of mechanical knowledge; and in a direction, too, which in later years was of especial value to him.

In 1837 the condition of the Stonington Railroad

became such as to demand the continual presence and attention of the engineer. Mr. Whistler, therefore, moved to Stonington, a place to which he became much attached, and to which he seems during all of his wanderings to have looked with a view of making it finally his home. While engaged upon the above work, he was consulted in regard to many other undertakings in different parts of the country; and prominent among these was the Western Railroad of Massachusetts.

This great work, remarkable for the boldness of its engineering, was to run from Worcester through Springfield and Pittsfield to Albany. To surmount the highlands dividing the waters of the Connecticut from those of the Hudson, called for engineering cautious and skilful, as well as heroic. The line from Worcester to Springfield, though apparently much less formidable, and to one who now rides over the road showing no very marked features, demanded hardly less study; as many as twelve several routes having been examined between Worcester and Brookfield. To undertake the solution of a problem of so much importance, required the best of engineering talent; and we find associated in this work the names of three men who in the early railroad enterprises of this country stood deservedly in the front rank, — George W. Whistler, William Gibbs McNeill, and William H. Swift. McNeill had graduated from the Military Academy in 1817, and risen to the rank of major in the topographical engineers. Like Whistler, he had been detailed to take charge of the design and construction of many works of internal improvement not under the direction of the General Government. These two engineers exercised an influence throughout the country for many years, much greater than that of any others. Indeed, there were very few works of importance under-

taken at that time, in connection with which their names do not appear. This alliance was further cemented by the marriage between Whistler and McNeill's sister. Capt. William H. Swift had also graduated from the Military Academy, and had already shown marked ability as an engineer. Such were the men who undertook the location and construction of the railroad which was to surmount the highlands between the Connecticut and the Hudson, and to connect Boston with the Great West.

The early reports of these engineers to the directors of the Western Railroad show an exceedingly thorough appreciation of the complex problem presented to them, and a much better understanding of the principles involved in establishing the route than seems to have been shown in many far more recent works. In these early reports, made in 1836 and 1837, we find elaborate discussions as to the power of the locomotive engine; and a recognition of the fact, that in comparing different lines we must regard the *plan* as well as the *profile*, "as the resistance from curves on a level road may even exceed that produced by gravity on an incline;" and in one place we find the ascents "*equated* at eighteen feet, the slope which requires double the power needed on a level road," resulting in a "*virtual increase*." We find also a very clear expression of the fact that an increased expenditure in the power needed to operate the completed road may overbalance a considerable saving in first cost. To bear this principle in mind, and at the same time to work in accordance with the directors' ideas of economy, in a country where the railroad was regarded very largely as an experiment, was by no means an easy task. The temptation to make the first cost low, at the expense of the quality of the road, in running up the valley of the Westfield River, was very great, and

the directors were at one time very strongly urged to make an exceedingly narrow and crooked road west of Springfield; but Major Whistler so convinced the president, Thomas B. Wales, of the folly of such a course, that the latter declared with a most emphatic prefix that he would have nothing to do with such a twopenny cow-path, and thus prevented its adoption.

Major Whistler had many investigations to make concerning the plans and policy of railroad companies, at a time when almost everything connected with them was comparatively new and untried. When he commenced, there was no passenger-railroad in the country, and but very few miles of quarry and mining track. If at that time an ascent of more than one in two hundred was required, it was thought necessary to have inclined planes and stationary power. It was supposed that by frequent relays it would be possible to obtain for passenger-cars a speed of eight or nine miles an hour. Almost nothing was known of the best form for rails, of the construction of the track, or of the details for cars or engines. In all of these things Major Whistler's highly gifted and well-balanced mind enabled him to judge wisely for his employers, and to practise for them the truest economy.

Major Whistler's connection with the Western Railroad began while he was still engaged upon the Stonington Line. Associated with his friend McNeill, he acted as consulting engineer for the Western road from 1836 to 1840. From 1840 to 1842 he was its chief engineer, with his headquarters at Springfield. The steep grades west of the Connecticut presented not only a difficult problem in location, but in locomotive engineering as well. At the present day we can order any equipment which may best meet the requirement upon any railroad,

and the order will be promptly met by any one of our great manufactories; but in the early days of the Western Railroad it was far otherwise, and the locomotive which should successfully and economically surmount with heavy trains a grade of over eighty feet to the mile was yet to be seen. The Messrs. Winans of Baltimore had built some nondescript machines, which had received the name of "crabs," and had tried to make them work upon the Western road; but after many attempts they were finally given up as unfit for such service. These "crabs" were eight-wheeled engines, weighing about twenty tons, with a vertical boiler. The wheels were three feet and a half in diameter; but the engine worked on to an intermediate shaft, which was connected with the driving-wheels in such a manner as to get the effect of a five-foot wheel. These engines did not impress Major Whistler at all favorably. His experience in Lowell was here of great value to him; and he had become convinced that the engine of George Stephenson was, in the main, the coming machine, and needed but to be properly proportioned, and of sufficient size, to meet every demand.

With Major Whistler's work upon the Western Railroad, his engineering service in this country concluded, and that by an occurrence which marked him as one of the foremost engineers of his time. Patient, indefatigable, cautious, remarkable for exhaustless resource, admirable judgment, and the highest engineering skill, he had begun with the beginning of the railroad system, and had risen to the chief control of one of the greatest works in the world,—the Western Railroad of Massachusetts. Not only had he shown the most far-sighted wisdom in fixing the general features of this undertaking; but no man surpassed him, if indeed anyone

equalled him, in an exact and thorough knowledge of technical details. To combine the various elements in such a manner as to produce the greatest commercial success, and to make the railroad in the widest sense of the word a public improvement, never forgetting the amount of money at his disposal, was the problem he had undertaken to solve. He had proved himself a great master in his profession, and had shown how well fitted he was to grapple with every difficulty. He was equally a man of science and a man of business; and to all this he added the most delicate sense of honor, and the most spotless integrity. He was in the prime of manhood, and was prepared to enter upon the great work of his life.

It was not long after the introduction of the railroad, that intelligent persons saw very plainly that the new mode of transportation was not to be confined to the working of an already established traffic in densely populated regions, but that it would be of equal service in awakening the energies of undeveloped countries, in bringing the vast interior regions of the continents into communication with the seaboard, in opening markets to lands which before were beyond the reach of commerce. And it was seen, too, that in event of war a new and invaluable element had been introduced, viz., the power of transportation to an extent never before dreamed of.

Especially were these advantages foreseen in the vast empire of Russia; and an attempt was very early made to induce private capitalists to construct the lines contemplated in that country. The Emperor, besides guaranteeing to the shareholders a minimum profit of four per cent., proposed to give them gratuitously all the lands of the state through which the lines should pass, and to place at their disposal, also gratuitously, the timber and raw materials necessary for the way and works,

which might be found upon the ground. It was further proposed to permit the importation of the rails and the rolling-stock free of duty. Russian proprietors also came forward, and not only agreed to grant such portions of their land as the railroads might pass through, gratuitously, but, further, to dispossess themselves temporarily of their serfs, and surrender them to the use of the companies, on the sole condition that they should be properly supported while thus employed.

With regard to the great line, however, which was to unite the two capitals, St. Petersburg and Moscow, it was decreed that this should be made exclusively at the expense of the state, in order to retain in the hands of the government, and in the general interest of the people, a line of communication so important to the industry and the internal commerce of the empire. The local proprietors agreed to surrender to the government, gratuitously, the lands necessary for this line.

It was very early understood that the railroad problem in Russia was much more analogous to that in the United States than to that in England. The Emperor, therefore, in 1839, sent the Chevalier De Gerstner to the United States to obtain information concerning the railroads of this country. It was this person who had obtained from the Emperor the concession for the short railroad from St. Petersburg to Zarskoe Selo, which had been opened in 1837, and who had also made a careful reconnoissance in 1835 for a line from St. Petersburg to Moscow, and had very strongly urged its construction on the American plan. The more De Gerstner examined our roads, the more impressed he was with the fitness of what he termed the American system of building and operating railroads, to the needs of the Empire of Russia. In one of his letters, in explaining the causes of the

cheap construction of American railways, after noting the fact that labor as well as material is much dearer in America than in Europe, he refers to the use of steep grades (ninety-three feet to the mile) and sharp curves (six hundred feet radius) upon which the American equipment works easily; to the use of labor-saving machinery, particularly to a steam-excavating machine on the railroad between Worcester and Springfield; and to the American system of wooden-bridge building; and says, "The superstructure of the railroads in America is made conformable to the expected traffic, and costs, therefore, more or less accordingly;" and he concludes, "Considering the whole, it appears that the cheapness of the American railroads has its foundation in the practical sense which predominates in their construction." Again, under the causes of the cheap management of the American roads, he notes the less expensive administration service, the low rate of speed, the use of the eight-wheeled cars, and the four-wheeled truck under the engines; and concludes, "In my opinion, it would be of great advantage for every railroad company in Europe to procure at least one train like those used in America. Those companies, however, whose works are as yet under construction, I can advise, with the fullest conviction, to procure all their locomotive engines and tenders from America, and to construct their cars after the American model."

Notwithstanding this report, the suggestions of De Gerstner were not at once accepted. The magnitude of the enterprise would not admit of taking a false step. Further evidence was needed; and, accordingly, it was decided to send a committee of engineer officers to various countries in Europe and to the United States, to select such a system for the road and its equipment, as

would be best adapted to Russia. These officers, Cols. Menlikoff and Krofft, not only reported in the most decided manner in favor of the American methods, but also stated that of all persons with whom they had communicated, no one had given them such full and satisfactory information upon all points, or had so impressed them as possessing extraordinary ability, as Major Whistler. This led to his receiving an invitation from the Emperor to go to Russia, to act as consulting engineer for the great road which was to connect the imperial city upon the Baltic with the ancient capital of the Czars.

When we consider the magnitude of the engineering works with which the older countries abound, we can but regard with a feeling of pride the fact that an American should have been selected for so high a trust, by a European government possessing every opportunity and means for securing the highest professional talent which the world could offer. Indeed, the engineers of the Russian service were perhaps the most accomplished body of men to be found in any country. Selected in their youth, irrespective of any artificial advantages of birth or position, but for having a genius for such work, and trained to a degree of excellence in all of the sciences unsurpassed in any country, they stood deservedly in the front rank. Such was the body of men with whom Major Whistler was called to co-operate, and whose professional duties, if not directed specially by him, were to be controlled by his judgment.

Accepting the position offered to him in so flattering a manner, he sailed for St. Petersburg about mid-summer, in 1842, being accompanied on his voyage by Major Bouttattz of the Russian Engineer Corps, who had been sent to this country by the Emperor as an escort. Arriving in St. Petersburg, and having learned the general

character of the proposed work, he traveled, partly by horse and partly on foot, over the entire route, and made his preliminary report, which was at once accepted.

The plan contemplated the construction of a double-track railroad, four hundred and twenty miles long, perfect in all its parts, and equipped to its utmost necessity. The estimates amounted to nearly forty millions of dollars, and the time for its construction was reckoned at seven years. The line selected for the road had no reference to intermediate points, and was the shortest attainable, due regard being paid to the cost of construction. It is nearly straight, and passes over so level a country as to encounter no obstacle requiring a grade exceeding twenty feet to the mile, and for most of the distance it is level. The right of way taken was four hundred feet in width throughout the entire length. The roadbed was raised from six to ten feet above the ordinary level of the country, and was thirty feet wide on top.

One of the most important questions to be settled at the outset, in regard to this great work, was the width of the gauge. At that time the opinion in England, as well as in the United States, among engineers, was setting very strongly in favor of a gauge wider than four feet eight and a half inches; and the Russian engineers were decidedly in favor of such increased width. Major Whistler, however, in an elaborate report to Count Kleinmichel, argued very strongly in favor of the ordinary gauge. To this, a commission of the most distinguished engineers in Russia replied, urging in the most decided manner a gauge of six feet. Major Whistler rejoined in a report which is one of the finest models of an engineering argument ever written, and in which we have, perhaps, the best view of the quality of his mind. In this document, no point is omitted; each part

of the question is handled with the most consummate skill; the bearing of the several parts upon the whole is shown in the clearest possible manner, and in a style which could only come from one who from his own knowledge was thoroughly familiar with all the details, not only of the railroad, but of the locomotive as well.

In this report the history of the gauge is given, with the origin of the standard of four feet eight inches and a half. The questions of strength, stability, and capacity of cars, of the dimensions, proportions, and power of engines, the speed of trains, resistances to motion, weight and strength of rails, the cost of the roadway, and the removal of snow, are carefully considered; the various claims of the advocates for a wider gauge are fairly and critically examined; and while the errors of his opponents are laid bare in the most unsparing manner, the whole is done in a spirit so entirely unprejudiced, and with so evident a desire for the simple truth, as to carry conviction to any fair-minded person. The dry way, too, in which Major Whistler suggests that conclusions based upon actual results from existing railways are of more value than deductions from supposed conditions, upon imaginary roads, is exceedingly entertaining. The result was the adoption of the gauge recommended by Major Whistler; namely, five feet. Those who remember the "Battle of the Gauges," and who know how much expense and trouble the wide gauge has since caused, will appreciate the stand taken thus early by Major Whistler; and this was but one among many cases which might be mentioned to show how comprehensive and far-reaching was his mind.

The roadway of the St. Petersburg and Moscow Railroad was thirty feet wide on top, for a double track of five feet gauge, with a gravel ballasting two feet deep.

The bridges were of wood, of the Howe pattern, no spans being over two hundred feet in length. The stations at each end, and the station and engine houses along the line, were on a plan uniform throughout, and of the most ample accommodation. Fuel and water stations were placed at suitable points; and engine-houses were made fifty miles apart, built of the most substantial masonry, circular in form, a hundred and eighty feet in diameter, surmounted by a dome, and having stalls for twenty-two engines each. Repair-shops were attached to every engine-house, furnished with every tool or implement that the wants of the road could suggest.

The equipment of rolling-stock and fixed machinery for the shops was furnished by the American firm of Winans, Harrison, & Eastwick, who from previous acquaintance were known by Major Whistler to be skilful, energetic, and reliable. Much diplomacy was needed to procure the large money advances for this part of the work, the whole Winans contract amounting to nearly five millions of dollars; but the assurance of Major Whistler was a sufficient guaranty against disappointment or failure.

In 1843 the plans for the work were all complete, and in 1844 the various operations along the line were under way, and proceeding according to the well-arranged programme. In 1844 work had progressed so far that the construction of the rolling-stock was commenced. The locomotives were of two classes,—freight and passenger. The engines of each class were made throughout from the same patterns, so that any part of one engine would fit the same position on any other. The passenger-engines had two pairs of driving-wheels, six feet in diameter, coupled, and a four-wheeled truck similar to

that under the modern American locomotive. The waist of the boiler was forty-seven inches in diameter, and it contained a hundred and eighty-six two-inch tubes ten and a half feet long. The cylinders were sixteen inches in diameter, with a twenty-two-inch stroke. The freight-engines had the same capacity of boiler, and the same number and length of tubes, cylinders eighteen inches in diameter, and a stroke of twenty-two inches, and three pairs of driving-wheels four and a half feet in diameter, all coupled, and a four-wheeled truck, all being uniform throughout in workmanship and finish. The passenger-cars were fifty-six feet long and nine and a half feet wide, the first-class carrying thirty-three passengers, the second-class fifty-four, and the third-class eighty. They all had eight truck-wheels each, and elliptic steel springs. The freight-cars were all thirty feet long and nine and a half feet wide, made in a uniform manner, with eight truck-wheels under each. The imperial saloon carriages were eighty feet long and nine and a half feet wide, having double trucks, or sixteen wheels under each. They were divided into five compartments, and fitted with every convenience.

Early in 1847 the Emperor Nicholas visited the mechanical works at Alexandroffsky, where the rolling-stock was being made by the Messrs. Winans, in the shops prepared by them, and supplied with Russian labor. Every thing here was on the grandest scale, and the work was conducted under the most perfect system. Upon this occasion the Emperor was so much gratified at what had already been accomplished, that he conferred upon Major Whistler the decoration of the Order of St. Anne. He had previously been pressed to wear the Russian uniform, which he promptly declined to do; but there was no escape from the decoration without giving

offence. He is said, however, to have generally contrived to hide it beneath his coat in such a manner that few ever saw it.

Technically, Major Whistler was consulting engineer, Col. Melkinoff being constructing engineer for the northern half of the road, and Col. Krofft for the southern half; but, as a matter of fact, by far the larger part of the labor of planning the construction in detail of both railroad and equipment fell upon Major Whistler. There was also a permanent commission, having the general charge of the construction of the road, of which the president was Gen. Destrem, one of the four French military engineers whom Napoleon, at the request of the Emperor Alexander, sent to Russia for the service of that country.

The year 1848 was a very trying one to Major Whistler. He had already on several occasions overtasked his strength, and had been obliged to rest. This year the Asiatic cholera made its appearance. He sent his family abroad, but remained himself alone in his house. He would on no account at this time leave his post, nor omit his periodical inspection along the line of the road, where the epidemic was raging. In November he had an attack of cholera, and while he recovered from it he was left very weak. He remained, however, upon the work through the winter, though suffering much from a complication of diseases. As spring advanced he became much worse; and upon the 7th of April, 1849, he passed quietly away, the immediate cause of his death being a trouble with the heart.

Funeral services were held in the Anglican (Episcopal) Church in St. Petersburg. His body was soon afterwards carried to Boston, and deposited beneath St. Paul's Church; but the final interment took place at Stoning-

ton. The kindness and attention of the Emperor, and of all with whom Major Whistler had been associated, knew no bounds. Everything was done to comfort and aid his wife; and when she left St. Petersburg, the Emperor sent her in his private barge to the mouth of the Baltic.

“It was not only,” says one who knew him well during his long residence abroad, “through his skill, ability and experience as an engineer, that Major Whistler was particularly qualified for and eminently successful in the important task he performed so well in Russia; his military training and bearing, his polished manners, good humor, sense of honor, knowledge of a language (French) in which he could converse with officers of the government; his resolution in adhering to what he thought was right, and in meeting difficulties only to surmount them; with other admirable personal qualities,—made him soon, and during his whole residence in Russia, much liked and trusted by all persons by whom he was known, from the Emperor down to the peasant. Such is the reputation he left behind him, and which is given to him in Russia to this day.”

In 1849 the firm of Winans, Harrison, & Eastwick had already furnished the road with 162 locomotives, 72 passenger and 2,580 freight-cars. They had also arranged to instruct a suitable number of Russian mechanics to take charge of the machinery when completed. The road was finished its entire length in 1850, being opened for passenger and freight traffic on the 25th of September of that year, in two divisions, experimentally, and finally opened for through business on Nov. 1, 1851. In all of its construction and equipment it was essentially American of the best kind, everything being made under a carefully devised system, by which the greatest econ-

omy in maintenance and in management should be possible. The use of standard patterns, uniformity of design, and duplication of parts, was applied not only to the rolling-stock, but to the railroad as well, wherever it was possible. Indeed, the whole undertaking, in all its parts, bore the impress of one master mind.

On the death of Major Whistler, the government with jealous care prevented any changes whatever being made in his plans, including those which had not been carried out, as well as those already in process of execution. An American engineer, Major T. S. Brown, was invited to Russia to succeed Major Whistler as consulting engineer. The services of the Messrs. Winans, also, were so satisfactory to the government, that a new contract was afterwards made, upon the completion of the road, for the maintenance and the future construction of rolling-stock.

While the great railroad was the principal work of Major Whistler in Russia, he was also consulted in regard to all the important engineering undertakings of the period. The fortifications at Cronstadt, the Naval Arsenal and Docks at the same place, the plans for improving the Dovina at Archangel, the great iron roof of the Riding House at St. Petersburg, and the iron bridge over the Neva, all received his attention. The government was accustomed to rely upon his judgment in all cases requiring the exercise of the highest combination of science and practical skill; and here, with a happy tact peculiarly his own, he secured the warm friendship of men whose professional acts he found himself called upon in the exercise of his high trust, in many cases, to condemn. The Russians are proverbially jealous of strangers; and no higher evidence of their appreciation of the sterling honesty of Major Whistler, and of his sound, discriminating judgment, could be afforded than

the fact that all his recommendations on the great questions of internal improvements, opposed as many of them were to the principles which had previously obtained, and which were sanctioned by usage, were yet carried out by the government to the smallest details.

While in Russia, Major Whistler was sometimes placed in positions most trying to him. It is said that some of the corps of native engineers, many of whom were nobles, while compelled to look up to him officially were inclined to look down upon him socially, and exercised their supposed privileges in this respect so as to annoy him exceedingly; for he had not known in his own country what it was to be the social inferior of any one. The Emperor, hearing of this annoyance, determined to stop it; so, taking advantage of a day when he knew the engineer corps would visit a celebrated gallery of art, he entered it while they were there, and, without at first noticing anyone else, looked around for Major Whistler, and seeing him, went directly towards him, took his arm, and walked slowly with him entirely around the gallery. After this the conduct of the nobles was all that could be desired.

Major Whistler's salary, while in Russia, was twelve thousand dollars a year, a sum no more than necessary for living in a style befitting his position. He had abundant opportunity for making money, but this his nice sense of honor forbade. It is even stated that he would never allow any invention to be used on the road, which could by any possibility be of any profit to himself or to any of his friends. He was continually besieged by American inventors, but in vain. The honor of the profession he regarded as a sacred trust. He served the Emperor with the fidelity that characterized all his actions. His unswerving devotion to his duty was fully appreciated; and it is said that no Ameri-

can in Russia, except John Quincy Adams, was ever held in so high estimation.

Major Whistler married for his first wife Mary, daughter of Dr. Foster Smith of the United-Sates Army, and of Deborah, daughter of Capt. Thomas Delano of Nantucket. By her he had three children: Deborah, his only daughter, who married Seymour Haden of London, a surgeon, but later and better known for his skill in etching; George William, who became an engineer and railway manager, and who went to Russia, and finally died at Brighton in England, Dec. 24, 1869; Joseph Swift, born at New London, Aug. 12, 1825, and who died at Stonington, Jan. 1, 1840. His first wife died Dec. 9, 1827, at the early age of twenty-three years, and is buried in Greenwood Cemetery, in the shade of the monument erected to the memory of her husband by the loving hands of his professional brethren. For his second wife, Major Whistler married Anna Matilda, daughter of Dr. Charles Donald McNeill of Wilmington, N. C., and sister of his friend and associate William Gibbs McNeill. By her he had five sons: James Abbot McNeill, the noted artist, and William Gibbs McNeill, a well-known physician, both now living in London; Kirk Boott, born in Stonington, July 16, 1838, and who died in Springfield, July 10, 1842; Charles Donald, born in Springfield, Aug. 27, 1841, and who died in Russia, Sept. 24, 1843; and John Bouttattz, who was born and who died at St. Petersburg, having lived but little more than a year. His second wife, who outlived him, returned to America, and remained here during the education of her children, after which she moved to England, where she died, Jan. 31, 1881, at the age of seventy-six years, being buried at Hastings.

At a meeting held in the office of the Panama Railroad Company in New York, Aug 27, 1849, for

the purpose of suggesting measures expressive of their respect for the memory of Major Whistler, William H. Sidell being chairman, and A. W. Craven secretary, it was resolved that a monument in Greenwood Cemetery would be a suitable mode of expressing the feelings of the profession in this respect, and that an association be formed to collect funds, and to take all necessary steps to carry out the work. At this meeting Capt. William H. Swift was appointed president, Major T. S. Brown treasurer, and A. W. Craven secretary; and Messrs. Horatio Allen, W. C. Young, J. W. Adams, and A. W. Craven were appointed a committee to procure designs and estimates, and to select a suitable piece of ground at Greenwood Cemetery. The design was made by Mr. Adams, and the ground was given by Mr. Kirkwood. The monument is a beautiful structure of red sandstone, about fifteen feet high, and stands in "Twilight Dell." Upon the several faces are the following inscriptions:—

IN MEMORY OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON WHISTLER,
CIVIL ENGINEER.
BORN AT FORT WAYNE, IND., MAY, 1800.
DIED AT ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA,
APRIL, 1849.

EDUCATED AT THE U. S. MILITARY ACADEMY.
HE RETIRED FROM THE ARMY IN 1833, AND
BECAME ASSOCIATED WITH WILLIAM GIBBS
MCNEILL. THEY WERE IN THEIR TIME
ACKNOWLEDGED TO BE AT THE HEAD OF
THEIR PROFESSION IN THIS COUNTRY.

HE WAS DISTINGUISHED FOR THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ABILITY, COUPLED WITH SOUND JUDGMENT AND GREAT INTEGRITY. IN 1842 HE WAS INVITED TO RUSSIA BY THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS, AND DIED THERE WHILE CONSTRUCTING THE ST. PETERSBURG AND MOSCOW RAILROAD.

THIS CENOTAPH IS A MEMORIAL OF THE ESTEEM AND AFFECTION OF HIS FRIENDS AND COMPANIONS.

While the monument thus raised to the memory of the great engineer stands in that most delightful of the cities of the dead, his worn-out body rests in the quaint old town of Stonington. It was here that his several children had been buried; and he had frequently expressed a desire, that when he should die he might be placed by their side. A deputation of engineers, who had been in their early years associated with him, attended the simple service which was held over his grave; and all felt, as they turned away, that they had bid farewell to such a man as the world has not often seen.

In person, Major Whistler was of medium size and well made. His face showed the finest type of manly beauty, combined with a delicacy almost feminine. In private life he was greatly prized for his natural qualities of heart and mind, his regard for the feeling of others, and his unvarying kindness, especially towards his inferiors and his young assistants. His duties and his travels in this and in other countries brought him in contact with men of every rank; and it is safe to say,

that, the more competent those who knew him were to judge, the more highly was he valued by them. A close observer, with a keen sense of humor and unfailing tact, fond of personal anecdote, and with a mind stored with recollections from association with every grade of society, he was a most engaging companion. The charm of his manner was not conventional, nor due to intercourse with refined society, but came from a sense of delicacy and refinement of feeling which was innate, and which showed itself in him under all circumstances. He was, in the widest and best sense of the word, a gentleman; and he was a gentleman outwardly, because he was a gentleman at heart.

As an engineer, Whistler's works speak for him. He was eminently a practical man, remarkable for steadiness of judgment and for sound business sense. Whatever he did was so well done, that he was naturally followed as a model by those who were seeking a high standard. Others may have excelled in extraordinary boldness, or in some remarkable specialty; but in all that rounds out the perfect engineer, whether natural characteristics, professional training, or the well-digested results of long and valuable experience, we look in vain for his superior; and those who knew him best will hesitate to acknowledge his equal.

*XXVI. Memoirs of Thomas and John Nesmith,
read by C. C. Chase, Nov. 10, 1886.*

I KNOW of no more appropriate work for this Association than the preparation and the preservation of short memoirs of those who were prominent actors in the early days of our city. It would, for example, be pleasant to have a brief sketch of the lives of all the men and women of early days, for whom our streets have been named. Our grammar schools are also called by honored names of men, every one of whom, except General Butler, has now passed away. I propose this evening to present a sketch of the lives of Thomas and John Nesmith, for whom one of our most beautiful streets is named, and who for years were known as the most wealthy and most prominent citizens of Belvidere, having been once the owners of almost all the land in that part of our city.

The Nesmiths came from the north of Ireland and are of Scotch descent. Most of the people of Ireland are descendants of the aboriginal Celts, but in the northern part were many people of Saxon origin, who in early days settled in the island. There were also emigrants from England and Scotland who in later times found a home in Ireland's fertile fields. Among the Scotch immigrants to Ireland, who in 1690 settled on the river Bann, in the county of Londonderry, were the earliest known ancestors of the Lowell Nesmiths. Two years after their settlement in Ireland, Dea. James Nesmith, the great-grandfather and earliest American ancestor of

the Lowell Nesmiths, was born. When twenty-seven years of age, in 1719, Dea. Nesmith emigrated from Ireland and settled in Londonderry, N. H., our neighboring town. The name Londonderry was obviously given in affectionate remembrance of the old home in Ireland. I may here remark that the reason why the Irish county of Derry is also called London Derry is because, after the native chiefs had by rebellion forfeited their rights, the county was granted by King James I. to twelve London companies, and hence London was prefixed to the old name of Derry.

When Dea. Nesmith came to America he had been married five years. Of his two children born in Ireland one had died in infancy and the other, James, born just before embarking, was cradled in the arms of his mother in the passage to America. This child, though not the progenitor of our Lowell Nesmiths, became an ardent patriot in the days of the Revolution, rallying to the first call of his country and, marching with the minute men, he took part in the battle of Bunker Hill. The father, Dea. James Nesmith, was one of the proprietors of Londonderry, a true and upright man, who derived his title of Deacon, I suppose, from the fact that upon the formation of the West Parish Presbyterian Church, in 1739, he was appointed one of the elders. He was then forty-seven years of age.

Of Dea. Nesmith's nine children, Thomas, the eighth, was the grandfather of the Nesmiths of Lowell, and from him Col. Thomas Nesmith received his name. He was born in Londonderry, in 1762, was married at the age of twenty-nine years, and settled in the town of Windham. Here the grandparents of the Nesmiths began their wedded life, and by industry and economy accumulated a large property, for those days. It was said that their

house was ever the home of the poor and needy. He died in his fifty-eighth year, but his wife survived him thirty-four years, dying at the age of eighty-one years. Of the four children of Thomas Nesmith, born in Windham, John, the youngest, was the father of the subjects of this sketch. He succeeded his father on his farm in Windham, and with him lived his aged mother. The farm contained about four hundred acres, and the old house, with its seventeen rooms, was demolished only a few years since. There was attached to it a store and a large hall, a famous place for balls and dances in "ye olden time." In his store Mr. Nesmith kept a respectable assortment of goods and a good business was done. He purchased goods, perhaps most of his goods, in Newburyport, which in early days was comparatively a far more important place of business than it now is. But in the midst of his successful business he died in 1806, at the age of only forty-four years, leaving a widow and nine children. Of these children, the second, Col. Thomas Nesmith of Lowell, was then eighteen years old, and the fourth, Mr. John Nesmith of Lowell, a boy only thirteen years of age.

Here, let me remark, we find, perhaps, the most important secret of the success of these two brothers. They were a widow's sons. They learned to bear the yoke in their youth. They were early called to bear burdens and assume responsibilities. A widowed mother, five brothers and sisters younger than themselves, called for aid and sympathy, and early led them to assume the duties and bearing of men. It is truly remarkable how many of the leaders of men are widows' sons. The mother of the Nesmiths, being thus left a widow with nine children, the oldest of whom, Jacob, was only twenty years of age, resolved, with the aid of her sons, to continue the busi-

ness of the father. She was a woman of great ability for business, and though so lame as to be compelled to use a crutch, she accomplished what only a few women have succeeded in doing. Probably Jacob, the oldest son, who remained at the homestead for fourteen years, assumed the greater part of the responsibility and labor of conducting the business of the store. The widow, after seven years, became the wife of Dea. Daniel McKeen of Derry, and removed to the home of her new husband, taking with her her two youngest children. Thomas remained at home for four years and John soon after his father's death became a clerk in the store of John Dow of Haverhill, Mass., where he served for five years until 1812, when the brothers, Thomas and John, formed a partnership in trade and opened a store in Windham—their respective ages being then twenty-four and nineteen years. After ten years they gave up their store in Windham and removed to the neighboring town of Derry, and there for about eight years they continued in a successful trade. After a short time spent in commission business in the city of New York, the two brothers, having now, by their economy and shrewdness in trade, accumulated a very handsome property, resolved to engage in the business of the purchase and sale of real estate. With this view, in 1831 they came to Lowell and purchased the well-known "Gedney estate" in Belvidere, of 150 acres, for \$25,000. The spacious mansion upon this estate, so long known to us all as the "Old Yellow House," was for many years one of the most conspicuous landmarks of our city in its early days. The timber of this house is said to have been brought from England, and the building was erected by one Timothy Brown about 1750. Here Mr. B. kept a tavern and also superintended the ferry across the Concord River. Mr.

Brown sold to one Woodward, who in turn sold to Philip Gedney. Gedney sold it to Major Whitemore of Cambridge, who sold it to Judge Livermore, of whom the Nesmiths made the purchase in 1831, as stated above. "The mansion house," says Mrs. Abbott, wife of Judge J. G. Abbott, and daughter of Judge Livermore, "was beautifully situated at the confluence of the Merrimack and Concord Rivers. Standing at an elevation of forty or fifty feet above the water, it commanded a distant and lovely view of both the streams. Back of the house, on the opposite side of the Merrimack, rose Dracut heights as if to shield the spot from the north winds. It was certainly a lovely old mansion." Here Mrs. Abbott resided with her father, Judge Livermore, in the earliest days of our city. It would be pleasant to trace back the ownership of this land to the early days of our country, but this I am unable to do. However, our worthy secretary, Mr. Gilman, has clearly shown, in his communication to be read this evening before you, that the earliest civilized owner of all the land on which Belvidere now stands, and perhaps, too, that on which this hall stands, was the widow of John Winthrop, the first governor of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. After the death of Governor Winthrop, the General Court granted to his widow 3,000 acres of land bounded on the west and east by the Concord and Merrimack Rivers. This grant must have included all of Belvidere and a part of the town of Tewksbury lying adjacent.

After purchasing this land the Nesmiths proceeded to lay out appropriate streets, to one of which, ten feet wider than the rest, they gave their own name. The investment proved a very remunerative one, for the building lots were very eligible, and the purchase having been made only nine years after the formation of the Merri-

mack Manufacturing Company, which started the first mills in Lowell, the Nesmiths reaped the full benefit of the rapid growth of the new and prosperous city. Their fortunes were now secure. Their wealth was large, but all honorably made. The remainder of their honorable lives they both spent on this land, Thomas dying in 1870 at the age of eighty-two years, and John in 1869 at the age of seventy-six years.

The two brothers were not alike, and I will close this article by recalling a few of the prominent characteristics of each. On coming to Lowell in 1845 and settling in Belvidere, I had the good fortune to have both of them as near neighbors, and to receive from them many favors for which I shall ever be grateful. Thomas through life was known for those affable and courtly manners which marked the gentleman of the old school. Though in the last of his life he sought the quiet and seclusion of home, persistently avoiding almost all participation in public affairs, yet while in trade in Windham he took an active part in public affairs of the town, and was the town clerk in 1821. He was enterprising in business and was the man who, in 1813, brought the first wagon to the town of Windham. He had a taste for military affairs, and a short experience in a soldier's life. In the war of 1812 he was enlisted as a soldier for three months, and served as third lieutenant in Capt. Bradley's company, stationed at Portsmouth. In 1820, when thirty-four years of age, he was chosen colonel of the eighth regiment of New Hampshire militia. But after coming to Lowell and serving two years as a member of the city government, I know of no public office, either civil or military, which he ever held. He was, however, a director of the Merchants Bank and a member of the Old Residents' Association. It is to the honor of both the head and heart of

Col. Nesmith that in his last will he left to the town of Windham the sum of \$3,000 for founding and perpetuating a public library, \$1,000 to the High Street Church Sabbath School in Lowell, the school his own children had attended, and \$25,000 as a fund for the support of the poor of Lowell. Col. Nesmith's early education was limited to his attendance at the district school, and the high school in Derry, now known as the Pinkerton Academy.

It was while trading in Derry that Col. Nesmith first met Miss Lucinda Fay, who was then the principal of Adams Female Academy in Derry, and who in 1832 became his wife. He was, at the time of his marriage, forty-four years of age. His wife was a lady of much personal beauty and of high moral character. She was highly educated, having been a pupil in the celebrated school of Mrs. Grant in Ipswich, Mass. Many of us knew her well. She died in Lowell in 1852, when only forty-two years of age.

Col. Nesmith did not marry again, but for the remaining eighteen years of his life he sought and enjoyed the retirement of home, finding meantime sufficient employment in caring for his large estate. At the time of his decease he had reached the good old age of eighty-two years.

The children of Col. Nesmith, who survived him, were: (1) Lucy E., who resides at the homestead. (2) Maria Louisa, who, on Dec. 6, 1875, married Walter H. McDaniels, Esq., of Lowell. She died Aug. 29, 1876. (3) Henrietta Washburn, who, on Sept. 28, 1870, married Edward Hastings, Esq. Her husband having died, she now resides at the homestead. (4) Thomas, who graduated at Harvard College, married Florence, daughter of Fisher A. Hildreth, Esq., March 23, 1875, and now resides in Lowell.

John Nesmith, who was younger by five years than Thomas, possessed a mind far more speculative and aspiring than that of his brother. He had left home, as we have seen, when only fourteen years of age, and knew more of strangers and had enjoyed less of home life. His spirit was inquisitive and aggressive. Besides caring well for his large estate he was a student and inventor. He devoted his odd hours to philosophical and mechanical studies. He was enthusiastic, versatile. He invented machines, one, for example, for making wire fence and the other for making shawl fringe. He engaged in the manufacture of blankets, flannels, printing cloths, sheetings, and other fabrics. As agent or owner he was interested in mills in Lowell, in Dracut, in Chelmsford, in Hooksett, and other places. In these enterprises he met with almost uniform success. Though more inclined to business and invention than to politics, his prominence and success as a man led him into political life. He was twice chosen as presidential elector. He was appointed United States collector of internal revenue. He rose to the high position of Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts. Of distinguished men of business he was among most far-seeing and prescient of the future. It was he that suggested the purchase of Lake Winnipiseogee as a water supply for the mills upon the Merrimack River. He foresaw the fitness of the city of Lawrence for the purposes of manufactures, and there made large purchases of land on both sides of the river. Mr. Nesmith was far more of a moralist than a politician. The temperance and anti-slavery causes found in him a life-long friend and a liberal contributor to their pecuniary support. I well recollect a meeting of the leading temperance men of Lowell in his office, at which he took the noble position, that men of humble means and small

earnings, should not be expected to sustain pecuniarily these great moral enterprises, but the wealthy from their abundance should freely and cheerfully bear these expenses, and lift the burden from the shoulders of those who needed all their slender means for the support of their families. Few rich men are wont to talk like that, and few rich men give so generously and cheerfully as did he.

Mr. Nesmith possessed an ardent and aggressive nature. His convictions were positive, and it was hard for him meekly to bear the opposition of those who differed from him. He even sometimes defied public opinion, and it cannot with truth be said that he had no enemies to question his sincerity and judge him severely. The great amount of real estate owned by him brought him in contact with a great number of tenants and debtors who presented many opportunities for criticism and complaint. In his declining years he was not the man to give up labor, to retire to the quiet of domestic life and sit down in the easy chair of old age. He worked while strength lasted. At his home he spent freely to make that home one of comfort and even of beauty. His graperies and hot-houses, his fruit trees and shrubbery, his lawn adorned with noble ornamental shade trees, all attest his tender care for the happiness of those he loved, his fine taste and his love of the beautiful. His will makes handsome provision for the foundation of a "Nesmith Fund" for the maintenance of the indigent blind of New Hampshire, and also for a public park in the town of Franklin in that state. He died in 1869, at the age of seventy-six years. His brother Thomas survived him only a few months.

Mr. Nesmith had three wives. The first was Mary, daughter of Samuel Bell of Chester, N. H., who held the high offices of United States senator and governor of

the state, during the administration of President Monroe. She died only six years after her marriage, leaving two children, both of whom died in early childhood. His second wife was Eliza T., daughter of John Bell of Chester, N. H., who in President J. Q. Adams' administration was governor of the state. She died in Lowell in 1836 at the early age of thirty-two years, leaving two children, one of whom still survives. Mr. Nesmith's third wife was Harriet R., daughter of Aaron Mansur, Esq., of Lowell, who still survives him, living in the homestead which her husband had done so much to adorn. Of his large family of children several died in infancy. Those who survived him were: (1) Eliza Bell, who, on Dec. 4, 1873, married John Bouton, Esq., author and journalist. They reside in the city of New York. (2) Harriet Bell, who, on Oct. 29, 1868, married Horace B. Coburn of Lowell. She died March 1, 1871. (3) Isabel, who, on Oct. 1, 1872, married Hon. Frederick T. Greenhalge, one of the mayors of Lowell. (4) James E., who, on June 30, 1884, married Miss Alice Eastman, and resides in Lowell. (5) Joseph A., who graduated at Harvard College, and resides with Mrs. Nesmith. Two unmarried daughters, also, reside at the homestead.

I will only add that I entertain a profound respect for that class of wealthy men, who, using no false pretences or lying advertisements, devouring no widows' houses, taking no advantage of the poor man's ignorance, scorning, by watering stocks and other such devices, to sell as pure metal what is only a shameful counterfeit, a base alloy, dealing just with all men and loving mercy, have, by their diligence, wisdom and foresight, acquired the means of adorning their own lives, and blessing by their example and benefactions the lives of their fellow men. To this class belonged the brothers, Thomas and John Nesmith.

*XXVII. Sketch of Hon. John A. Knowles, by J.
K. Fellows, read May 5, 1887.*

NONE, perhaps, of all the early residents of Lowell, have left a better example or record than Hon. John A. Knowles. Coming here in 1827, when there was but little manufacturing, the place a mere skeleton, scattered wood houses and shops here and there, streets unpaved and without sidewalks, Mr. Knowles lived to see all this transformed into a city of about 70,000 inhabitants,—mingling with two generations of men and acting his part well for nearly threescore years. John A. Knowles was born in Pembroke, N. H., April 25, 1800. He was the youngest of thirteen children of Simon and Deborah Knowles, and the last to survive. The parents were natives of Hopkinton, N. H. He received his early education at the district school of Pembroke. When fifteen years old he left home and went to Hopkinton, N. H., where he worked at the trade of wagon making, going to school part of the time. When nineteen years old he applied for a school in Hopkinton. The committee agreed that he surpassed the other candidates in most branches, but did not equal them in writing, and another youngster was elected as teacher. Young Knowles immediately went to a neighboring town, joined the class of a writing-teacher, and devoted all his time for two or three weeks to improving his handwriting. He then applied for another school, which he obtained, and was highly complimented by the examining committee upon

his handwriting. For the next five years he went on alternately teaching and attending school.

In 1822, the writer, a boy, was at work in a hay-field, with the man of the farm, who seemed to be made of iron, when a young man, known by boys as the school-master, tall, thin and pale, passed on the road with books on his arm, on his way to Mr. Ballard's school. The iron-clad man said to me, "There goes a lazy fellow that is trying to get a living without work." This was one of the class of men in those times, who thought work was the chief end of man and boy, and books of no account. Mr. Knowles had been teaching school the winter previous in Hopkinton, or just across the line in Concord, and "boarding 'round," as was the custom at that time. His abode for a week or two was with a man who kept a small grocery store. At the request of the proprietor, who was occasionally called to other duties, mornings and evenings, Mr. Knowles was left in charge. We have heard him mention the circumstances, saying he was not favorably impressed with the grocery trade, as then carried on, although he was meditating upon some pursuit for life. While sitting in the store, the first customer waited upon was a well-dressed woman with a red nose—one of her boys in his school—who took from her handkerchief two eggs, and a small bottle which she wished to have filled with Medford rum in exchange for the eggs. At another time she brought three eggs and remarked that he must be generous and fill the bottle full, as the eggs were large. Of course the bottle was filled. He had been all through life disgusted with the liquor traffic and had often thought of the exchange or trade with that woman, and—doubting as to the justice done—said that "wherever the carrion was the buzzards were sure to be about."

He was several terms at Sanbornton Academy and at the private school of Mr. John O. Ballard of Hopkinton, where he remained for a considerable time, and the benefit derived from this school and his connection with his teacher, Mr. Knowles often mentioned as one of the "fortunate circumstances of his life." A rare teacher, a thorough scholar, a cultivated gentleman. Some years later we had the opportunity to know and heartily endorse the old teacher as above.

For three or four years he continued his studies, teaching a district school winters; and during this time he had gone through a course of studies usually pursued preparatory to entering college, but being in feeble health and limited as to means, he gave up his plan of a college course of education. A pedestrian trip as far as Utica, N. Y., did much to restore his health, and he resumed teaching in Rutland, Vt. During the next two years he taught school in Keene, N. H., and Taunton, Mass. In the autumn of 1827, Mr. Knowles came to Lowell, a manufacturing village at that time numbering only three thousand inhabitants, and had only the year before been incorporated as a town. It was, perhaps, fortunate for Mr. Knowles that he came here at this time, to this fresh and vigorous community, and here established himself and here grew up with its growth, sharing its prosperity. He opened an evening school; penmanship was the leading branch, of which he was an expert. His autograph in later years was a curiosity, he having a trembling hand and become partially blind. He entered his name as a student at law in the office of Elisha Glidden, Esq., Dec. 10, 1827, soon relinquishing his school. Here he remained with Mr. Glidden, boarding in his family, until 1830, when he went to Dedham to attend the law lectures of Hon. Theron Metcalf, afterwards Judge Met-

calf. In 1832 he was admitted to the bar. He immediately opened an office in Lowell, and from that time to 1850, when he retired from the active business of his profession, he never knew the want of office business. One of his first clients was an elderly man, Luther Marshall, born where he was then living, in the west part of the town. He had loaned a lawyer six hundred dollars. The claim, Mr. Knowles told him, was worthless, that he should have taken some security. "Oh!" said Mr. M., "I thought lawyers were always rich, especially those who wore gold-bowed spectacles." Without charge Mr. Knowles advised his client to reverse his views as to lawyers always being rich. For this advice he took no fee, although in need. In 1833 he was married to Sarah, daughter of William Appleton of Portsmouth, N. H. He was a whig in politics, but not a politician. When the police court of Lowell was established, in 1833, Hon. Joseph Locke being the first judge, Mr. Knowles, then a young lawyer, was clerk of the court for several years. In 1835 he was chosen representative to the legislature, also in 1844 and 1845. In 1847 he was elected senator from Middlesex County, and declined a renomination in 1848. He was on the school committee of 1836, with Jacob Robbins, Rev. Amos Blanchard, Dr. J. O. Green and Thomas Hopkinson, and also served in later years. In 1847 he was elected president of the Appleton Bank, which office he held for nearly thirty years with honor and fidelity, resigning in 1867 on account of impaired eyesight. In 1848 he was elected treasurer of the Lowell & Lawrence Railroad, which office he resigned after several years of faithful service. His religious views were of a liberal character, and his feelings kind and charitable towards the faults of his fellow-men. A pillar in the Unitarian Church, of which he was an officer for half a century. He was present at the house of Mr.

Thomas Ordway, at the very first meeting called to consider the expediency of introducing Unitarian worship into Lowell. In September, 1829, he was at the old stone hotel on Pawtucket Street, kept by Mr. Samuel A. Coburn, when the Unitarian Society was organized. There were present at that meeting Ithamar A. Beard, Abram Howe, Abner Ball, Seth Ames, Samuel A. Coburn, Edward Callender, John A. Knowles, John P. Robinson, and John Avery. Mr. Knowles was the last survivor of them all. He was always an earnest, life-long advocate of temperance, opposed to licensing the drink traffic in any form, and his influence on all the great subjects of the day was on the right side. Principle, not policy, was his motto. His sympathy was always practically manifested towards the worthy poor and unfortunate, cheerfully aiding them when needed.

Mr. Knowles was one of the organizers of the Old Residents' Historical Association in 1868, and has done much to interest its members. In the fall of 1872 he prepared and read a paper on the life of Hon. Joseph Locke; later a sketch of the life of Paul Moody, who died in 1831; also of Warren Colburn, who died in 1833, Elisha Glidden, and Dr. John C. Dalton. In May, 1874, he gave a vivid recollection of society in Lowell in 1833, tending to show the changes time had worked out since then. November, 1877, interesting narratives of his recollection of the early days of Lowell and of his professional experiences. November, 1878, Mr. Knowles recited from memory, which was remarkable with him, passages from Pope's *Essay on Man*, and his *Universal Prayer*, thus vindicating his name from the charge of infidelity. He stated he had not consulted either for fifty years. Notwithstanding this fact, he gave the passages with the correctness and vigor of recent and youthful study.

Poetry, with him, was a study and a pleasure. He could quote passages from nearly all the old writers as well as modern authors. He was himself quite a poet. Being modest, however, but little perhaps has appeared in print. He was sharp as a wit and quick at repartee; full of humorous sayings, anecdotes and stories, all tending to enliven and make happy those who came in contact with him, in business or society.

The following was often quoted by Mr. Knowles:

"Honor and Shame from no condition rise,
Act well your part, there all the honor lies."

Mr. Knowles died July 25, 1884, aged eighty-four years and three months to a day, Mrs. Knowles having died in 1871. Three children survive, two daughters and one son. The oldest son, highly respected and prosperous in business, died suddenly, in this city, but a short time previous (two months) to his father, bearing his name, John A. Knowles, Jr.

The following touching lines on "Old Age," were written by Mr. Knowles a few years before he died:

I long to see the summer,
And hear the robins sing;
The bluebird's note so near my home
Reminds me it is spring.
But piercing winds pass o'er my frame,
My blood runs thin and cold;
My hand shakes when I write my name,
I fear I'm growing old.

My friend oft rises when we meet
To help me doff my cloak,
And says, "Please take this easy seat,
How very frail you look!
I thought you went not out at night,
At least when 'tis so cold."
All kindly said; but is't polite
To remind one he is growing old?

Again this truth is brought to view,
As often as I shave;
And if my glass reflects me true,
It's enough to make me grave.
But if you love me still, my friends,
As you've so oft me told,
There's one thing you need never fear—
My heart's not growing old.

*XXVIII. Address delivered before the G. A. R.,
by Rev. A. St. John Chambré, D.D., in Hunt-
ington Hall, May 30, 1887.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, AND COMRADES:—Five hundred thousand living men, once soldiers of the republic, are represented in the exercises of this day. The day itself has become a national holiday—may I not say a holy-day?—in the spirit and purpose of all who cherish the memory of heroic deeds, and who rejoice in a nation's glory secured and perpetuated by patriotic courage and sacrifice.

Historically, we may date the existence of this "Memorial" from the close of our great civil war, after four years of severest service in the field, when President Andrew Johnson issued his proclamation of amnesty, on the 26th of May, 1865—just twenty-two years ago. The thirtieth of May dawned thus upon a country at peace, after its long and weary conflict. The storm of rebellion was at length allayed, and there remained only the gradual "mustering out" of a million of soldiers and their absorption once more into the walks of civil life. On the second of June, of that year, was issued the last order of General U. S. Grant (whose memory a grateful nation cherishes), thanking the army for its valor, and congratulating it upon its victories, and the ending of its labors and its dangers. Therefore it is that this day has been set apart by the loyal soldiers, organized under the title of "The Grand Army of the Republic," to be forever the day upon which the dead of many

fields shall be honored in decking their resting places with fragrant flowers, and in commemorating their achievements for the preservation of the Union.

There are a great many significances attaching themselves to this day, for which now there is not the time for consideration. The more obvious ones have again and again, no doubt, claimed your attention. Let it be my privilege, however, to ask your attention to some points not often made prominent.

These attach themselves to

1. Individuals,
2. Society, and
3. Politics.

1. Some of you will remember, no doubt, how common the saying was before the war that the age of heroism had passed away. It certainly appeared to be so. There had been peace so generally and so long in our country, that war was a dream which could scarcely, it was thought, become actual to any considerable number of our people. Men were engaged, apparently engrossed, in the business of making money or of seeking pleasure. The whole land seemed enwrapped in a selfish regard for personal or community interests; and it did seem that from such men no great, or noble, or heroic deeds could come—certainly no such sacrifices as would involve privations, and wounds, and even death itself, and this not for gain, not always even for honor, but simply for principle and for the salvation of the nation. But it was soon seen that the verdict was wrong, and that heroism was only in abeyance. When at length the tocsin of war sounded, and it was understood that the national integrity was threatened, the whole land awoke, and sprang to arms with a suddenness, a unanimity, a determination, such as in modern ages has been altogether

unique. I do not say here that all took arms, or that all were ready to make sacrifices, or even that all who went to the field were actuated by a pure patriotism—but the multitude who responded to the call for military service was, for the most part, composed of men of whom the nation may be forever proud. How real was this heroism, and how true was this patriotism, results made manifest. Weary months and weary years passed, and during much of the time there was only darkness upon the land. But the trials and labors called for and endured, only developed more and more the virtues of patience, endurance, and of obedience.

Has it ever occurred to you how much the nation needed to develop these virtues? How largely upon these virtues (especially the virtue of obedience) a nation's power and integrity must depend? Those who remember what was the national spirit before the war, know well that we were not a people willingly subservient to law. To a very great extent there was a feeling of independence of all external authority. As from the people all power sprang, according to the theory of many, it was too much the thought that the people were not bound by any power or any law. "Every man for himself," was the idea. If anything came in the way of that, put it out of the way! The war changed that feeling. While it still remained as true as it ever was, that power sprang from the people, it was discerned that law bound the people also. It was discerned that freedom itself is circumscribed, and that it must be even yielded sometimes for the greater advancement of freedom throughout the world. This was learned by a million of the very best men of the country, by their subjection to military authority. The army taught it to the whole land. And it is safe to say that while 500,000 veterans

of the Grand Army remain, and while this lesson of obedience to law, and conservation of freedom, is heeded, which was learned in the experience of our civil war, the crude theories that would make liberty license will be harmless, and the cowardly and brutal dynamics of anarchism will be crushed—"if it takes all summer."

There was learned this lesson, also: That to know how to obey is to know how to command—to command one's self first, and then others. Then it came to be realized that as it is a duty to yield obedience to the rightful demand of authority that is merely temporal, even so obedience should be rendered to that authority which is eternal. The authority of man, of the nation, became a type of the authority of God to the nation. I believe that the war taught that lesson in a most true and real way. Thousands learned it—thousands who before obeyed neither God nor man, learned to obey men, and were then lifted to a consciousness of One who also had a right to their obedience, and they yielded to Him the subjection of their lives.

Then again, a deeper love and value of country was developed than had before been known. Before the war there was a great deal of Fourth of July patriotism. But as a heart principle, the country was little or nothing, save as a place in which to live. The Union had no specific meaning. Its flag meant little—but bunting. As a symbol with life in it, it was to the multitude really meaningless. But not so now. Country—the Union—means everything, even life itself. And the flag—that, as the symbol of national unity, integrity, power and glory, is dear certainly to all our hearts who remember that terrible struggle; more dear and more precious than tongue can tell. We cannot look upon it without a quicker beating of the heart, and a tenderness

that dims the eye and softens the voice. An insult to it is an insult to us personally, to be punished according to its enormity. It is dearer to all than it ever was before. Individual love of country is thus signified by this day, and attachment to the flag as its expression in symbol. We rally round that; we live for it; if necessary, we are prepared to die for it. We rejoice that it is everywhere triumphant to-day—though triumphant through bitter tribulations.

There can be no question that such a position involves a greater nobility, and a development of manly powers and feelings, such as prevailed not, at least found no general expression, before the war. Indeed, in many ways, the army developed those connected with it. It gave them self-reliance, and reliance one upon another; respect for their own and the rights of others; regard for honorable thoughts and deeds; faithfulness of man to man, and confidence in the triumph of right against all opposing forces. If in instances there were failures, they were in instances, and not in the army as such, nor in the cause for which it was enrolled. Generally, the men who returned to their homes from the conflicts and shocks of battle, were wiser and better men than when they went forth. They certainly were no worse; and to assert otherwise, as is sometimes done as we recede from those days that tried men's souls, is to cruelly and basely slander the fathers and brothers and sons who then stood between the nation and its death, and to thus slander is cowardly and infamous! If they came back bad men, or worse than when they went out, the bad was already in them. This is at least true in the great majority of such cases.

So much for the bearing of the war upon individuals. Turn now to some thoughts in relation to its bearing on society.

2. As the confusion, inevitably consequent upon a resort to arms of so great a nation, for a time seemed to baffle all efforts to reduce to order, it was thought by not a few that every element of social strength and virtue would be destroyed. The bonds of society did seem to be untied for a time. The "lawlessness of war," as it has been termed, seemed for a moment to seize upon masses of men everywhere—not men of the army, however, but men out of the army. But it was soon discovered that even in war, under a free government, lawlessness is the incidental, not the essential, and that society could be preserved even amid flashing swords and booming cannon. Nay, in regard to this nation, the war in fact served to accomplish what the previous history of the nation had not accomplished. That is, it compacted society, and bound it in stronger ties. Society, as designating the population of the land, was before the war but a name. Society had scarcely more cohesion than so many grains of sand strewn upon the ground. The change was marked and rapid. It was learned that each depended upon all, and all upon each—that men, women and children constituted society, and that their interests were common. That is a divine thought. When it was recognized it lifted up society. By virtue of it were developed powers and feelings of fraternity such as, with all our boasted theories of equality, had not been realized. And a common national destiny was recognized. Then were enkindled hopes that no disasters could quell, trust that no calamity could invalidate, generosity that no calls, however great and repeated, could quench, and moral stamina that the sound of musketry, the clash of steel, the sight of wounded heroes, or the pale battalions of the dead, though embracing the nearest and dearest, could not destroy, and did not destroy.

Forever a higher quality has thus been given to American society. It is something now. Every hearthstone is now symbolic. Every family is but representative of a multitude. This higher quality is, also, a chivalrous quality—not in the sense of selfishness and tyranny which characterized so much of the old chivalry, and made men careful only of themselves and their “class,” however others might be crushed, but in the noble sense of desire to subserve the interests of all classes, at any cost, even the cost of life itself. This spirit will not soon die. It will at least remain while the memories of the war shall endure, and these memories cannot fade while any of the heroes shall remain, who, on tented fields, by day and by night, guarded our liberties and defended our rights—they cannot fade as long as there shall pass up and down our streets war-worn men, battered and broken by the shocks of many battles—they will not fade so long as a post of the Grand Army shall remain, and while gratitude and love of country shall find a home in American hearts.

3. Consider now the bearing of the war upon politics.

But I do not use the word in its lower meaning. I have no reference now to party pretension or opinion. The Grand Army of the Republic, as such, has nothing to do with politics in any sense, nor had the army in its active service anything to do with such politics. I mean by politics, political well-being, that is, national advantage and greatness and glory—national as distinguished from sectional. Before the war, as all know, different parts of the union were practically, and largely, independent of each other. They were not, as was essential to any true idea of nationality, riveted together for the furtherance of all national purposes. Nor was this the

worst. Having no great objects to attain by common effort, and out of noble endeavor, the whole nation was drifting into a condition of gross materialism. Men everywhere were intent upon, and absorbed in, the pursuit of what they thought could be obtained through the material resources of the country, opening up and multiplying every day. So completely was this the case, that almost everywhere the moral vision was obscured, and the cruel wrong of African slavery was either justified or excused—justified or excused, though it rested like an incubus upon the fairest part of the land, and spread its baneful influence through its borders—justified or excused, though prolific of brutality, and sensualism, and degradation, and woe, and smiting with its leprous touch alike the black and the white, the slave and the free. Into the condemnation of this condition the whole nation was brought, for the nation as such was responsible. But the nation saw no wrong, for the most part. Not one in a thousand awoke to the full evil of it, and the full danger from it, until the tramp of armed men was heard marching to the destruction of what liberty remained, and until mailed hands were raised to overturn the fair government that our fathers had founded in tears and in blood. Then the nation did awake, and to higher, and nobler, and broader views. It made itself free then, as it had not been before. The war made it free. That is to say, the men that made its armies made it free—purchasing that freedom with a great price.

So it is, the nation stands to-day strong and powerful in its own eyes, and in that of the whole world. We are freer to-day, and freer from danger, than any nation under the sun. And I believe it is not merely a dream, that the liberty of which this nation is the representative, is but the promise and prophecy of a like liberty which

shall yet be universal. The war was inaugurated in the interests, and for the defence, of slavery. Success upon those lines would have turned back the wheels of civilization a thousand years. But there was not success. God had better things in view for this land and for the world. Good and true men recognized this, and the war was accepted by those upon whom it was forced as in the interests of human souls everywhere—in the conviction that every human soul had inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I say, then, that this day is significant of political well-being, of national advantage, and greatness and glory. Nay, it is significant of universal liberty in its truest and best sense. It is this, and it will be this forever—even though this nation itself should perish—which God forbid! For, while history shall speak, it will be told how in a war for liberty four millions of immortal souls were made free in a moment, free to call themselves their own, with no master but God—declared so by a stroke of a pen on one New Year's day in this nineteenth century—a pen held by the hand of one who himself gave his blood for the nation's life.

But let me speak now more directly to the hour.

You, my comrades of the Grand Army of the Republic, are the living witnesses of those days that tried men's souls. You were actors in their awful scenes, the participators in their fiery ordeals. You are spared—though those days added ten years to every man's life who passed through them,—you are spared, while many a true and brave heart was left dead on fields of carnage, or has since died from wounds or disease. It is for you to perpetuate their memories, and to honor your own share in the toils and conquests of the past. But you are to do this not simply by annual parades, with flying

banners and martial music, not simply by the strewing of fair and fragrant flowers upon their graves, with service of hymn and prayer, but with the glory with which you may crown your own lives, in noble, upright conduct, and in consecration to all that is good and true. We are no longer "boys." We were that when we marched proudly in the strength of our youth or early manhood to the stirring beat of the drum. We gave our youth, we gave our early manhood to our country—and we are glad that we did. We would do the same thing again, under the same circumstances, if we could. But during all the years since the fire and smoke of battle have cleared away we have been "marching on," and our ranks are constantly thinning, as one after another drops weary by the roadside of life, or falls before the shaft of the common enemy of mankind. The "roll call" year by year finds no answer to an ever increasing number of names, save the one word—"Dead." Of such we can only say now:

"Rest, ye braves! Your march is ended,
Save the eternal march, where tears
And thy blood, with victories blended,
Fall not in those endless years.

"Sculptured marble lips are chilling,
Sinking daily into earth,
And our tongues of flesh, though willing,
Fail the praise that is their worth."

Close up then, close up the ranks, my comrades! close them for nobler conquests than have yet been gained. Close them for the heavenward march, the victor's wreath and the starry crown! Stand shoulder to shoulder, and let heart beat in unison with heart. With unbroken front and steady tread, press on. As in the years gone, so in the years to come, be faithful—faithful unto death—and God will give to you "the morning star."

Ladies and Gentlemen: Do you realize that a new generation is on the stage—a generation of men and women who know nothing by experience of the events that are commemorated here to-night? Such, however, is the fact. It is true, there are still, and there will long be, the evidences and witnesses of the fearful struggles of the years from 1861 to 1865. Tens of thousands of widows and orphans of loyal soldiers are still living. A pension roll of some three millions of dollars attests the sacrifice of human life in those years. And a monstrous national debt bears testimony to the money cost of preserving the Union. Besides all this, the woes, and poverty, and sorrows which the war entailed, which no words of human lips can adequately set forth, are not ended yet. They will not be for many years to come. And yet the vision of those days that so tried the nation is already fast fading. Our young men and maidens know nothing of the horrors and anxieties that came to so many hearts. Our children know of the great conflict only by the hearing of the ear. We who were a part of those days—some of us walking in the stress of the storm of the battles—are feeling the years slipping from us. Soon the last of us will be gathered into our silent homes. It would gladden our hearts to be assured that then, and always, this “Memorial” will continue—that loyal and loving hearts will not forget to plant the dear flag over our graves, and to brighten them with the beauty of the spring flowers.

But, meanwhile, I beg you will not wholly forget, rather that you will remember kindly and respectfully, the men who once stood between you and dishonor and death, and but for whom you would have no country and no prosperity to-day. Too many are forgetting, and are turning coldly from these men. But when this is done

it is a bitter parody upon a nation's gratitude. These men, battle-scarred, many of them, often now broken in health and in spirit, sometimes even poor indeed in the things of this world, these men we ought to befriend and honor, not in charity, but in love and in justice. Let us call often to mind what they endured and suffered, and dared, and for what—what deadly strife they engaged in—what darkness of horror and blackness of despair sometimes engulfed them—and they far from home and from those who loved and could care for them when bruised and bleeding, or lying dying on fiercely contested fields. Some of these things come before me now—though as a nightmare dream long past. There was Fredericksburg, with its semi-circular line of hills, overlooking and controlling the plain, reaching up from the Rappahannock River, on the banks of which was the city. The whole line of those high hills was occupied by the Confederate forces, and the object of the loyal troops was to dislodge them. To do so was a practical impossibility, and yet the effort must be made and was made. Our troops were thrown across the river on Thursday and Friday, the 11th and 12th of December, 1862, and occupied the city and plain. On Saturday the works on the centre of the semi-circle were to be stormed, and division after division was told off for the deadly work. Standing where the whole scene was plainly before me, on the heights were visible the enemy's battle array, and the heavy earthworks lined with cannon—those works bending around our forces, like giant arms prepared to crush. But across the plain and up those heights marched our troops, with colors flying and bands playing, steadily, bravely, stubbornly, though with the consciousness that they were marching into the jaws of death. On, on, up, up, until they reached the first crests

of the hills, when fire of grape and canister, at short range, and withering volleys of musketry—one vast, fierce sheet of flame, bursting from the woods, and over the crests of the hills, and from either side of our troops—literally enveloped them. The lines swayed to and fro, great gaps were made in the ranks, again and again the smoke closed them in—but as it swept away for a moment, ranks were seen closed, and still they pressed towards the heights. They gained them for a moment,—only for a moment. Mortals could not stand the terrible fire, which came thick and hot and continuously, along the line of front and on either flank. Our men were driven back—leaving, in their hopeless but magnificent effort, from fifteen to eighteen thousand men dead or wounded on the hill. And all this within the space of about three hours!

But such scenes were again and again enacted, and such sacrifices were made. Can we forget them? Do they not demand our gratitude and our reverence toward those who remain? Let us remember, let us never forget, that to preserve to us and to our children all that is dear and precious of home and country, these men here to-night, and such as these, bared their breasts, and stood between us and destruction, like a living wall, and braved the frightful ordeals of battle, when

“Cannon to right of them,
Cannon to left of them,
Cannon in front of them,
Volleyed and thundered!”

XXIX. The Life and Character of Hon. Homer Bartlett, by J. S. Russell, read Feb. 9, 1887.

JOHN BARTLETT and his wife, Agnes (Bengar) Bartlett, the earliest ancestors yet traced of the Hon. Homer Bartlett, a sketch of whose life is here presented, lived in Cherington, Warwick Co., in the interior of England. He died in 1613, and his wife Agnes died in 1615. Their son Robert, in 1603, married Anne, daughter of Richard Livingston. They had a family of nine children, five males and four females; one of the daughters, Jane, was married, in 1634, to John Turner, rector of Easton Parish, Hastings, England. The second child, Robert, was baptised March 8, 1606, probably not many days after his birth. He emigrated to America in September, 1632. He first settled in Cambridge, Mass., but soon removed to Hartford, Conn., and in 1655 settled in Northampton, Mass., where he lived till March 14, 1675-6, where he was killed in the famous Indian wars with King Philip. His wife died the following July. They had four children, Samuel, Nathaniel, Abigail, and Deborah. Nathaniel died unmarried; Abigail became the second wife of John Stebbins, Dec. 16, 1657; Deborah, baptised March 8, 1646, married John Cowles, Jr., of Hartford. Samuel was born in Hartford, in 1639. He married, first, Mary Bridgeman, in 1672, who died within two years; and in 1675 he took Sarah Baldwin for his second wife, by whom he had twelve children, all in Northampton,—Samuel, Sarah, Mindwell, Joseph, Ebenezer, Elizabeth, Preserved,

Jonathan, William, David, Benjamin, and a still-born child. Mindwell married Waitstill Strong, March 17, 1706; Elizabeth married Aaron Clark, Nov. 11, 1731; Preserved married Elizabeth Alvord, Jan. 24, 1712; William married Abigail Lyman, Dec. 22, 1720; David married Elizabeth Edwards, Dec. 23, 1719. Ebenezer, the fifth child, and the ancestor in direct line of our fellow citizen, Homer Bartlett, was born in Northampton, Sept. 27, 1685, and on Dec. 1, 1715, at the age of thirty, he married Martha Lyman, by whom he had five children,—Ebenezer, Mary, Ebenezer, 2d, Mary, 2d, and Martha. Ebenezer, 2d, was born in Northampton, Aug. 28, 1721, and died in Granby, in 1788. He had seven children, whose mother's name I have not found. They were Ebenezer, Oliver, Titus, Rachel, Polly, Hannah, and Martha, born in South Hadley and Granby, which was set off from South Hadley in 1768. Their children all became the heads of families, settled in Northampton, Hadley, Granby, in Massachusetts and New York, in Virginia, and other states. Ebenezer, 3d, the eldest was born in South Hadley, in 1745, and died in Granby, Feb. 2, 1798. He married Betsy Barton, of Ludlow, who died March 7, 1803. They had ten children, viz.: Asahel, Ebenezer, Asher, Pliny, Waitt, Eunice, Martha, Hannah, Pliny, and Waitt. The first Pliny and Waitt died in infancy and other children took the same names. Waitt, the youngest child, born Feb. 28, 1786, married Martha Gould Chapin, Jan. 22, 1808, the daughter of Henry Mansfield Chapin and Elizabeth Lilley. They had twelve children, one of whom, Elizabeth Chapin, became the wife of J. S. Russell, of Lowell, Oct. 4, 1842. Asahel, the eldest child of Ebenezer, 3d, was born in 1758, in the town of Granby. He had three wives: (1) Hannah Burchard, who died in 1806; (2) Sally Bonner, who died

in 1829; (3) Almira Miller, who died in 1850. He had eleven children, six by his first wife, Hannah Burchard, and five by his second wife, Sally Bonner. The Burchard children were: Homer, born July 19, 1795; Ebenezer, born March 13, 1797, died Aug. 15, 1803; Lebina, born Jan. 13, 1799, died Aug. 21, 1830; Almena, born April 4, 1801, died Oct. 28, 1802; Almena, 2d, born Jan. 15, 1803; Hannah, born Dec. 15, 1805. The Bonner children were: Asahel Holmes, born June 6, 1808; Sarah, born March 23, 1810, died Aug. 23, 1811; Almira, born April 12, 1813; Sarah, 2d, born Feb. 10, 1817. At least four of these children died young, three in infancy.

Granby is a small town one hundred miles west, south-west from Boston, in Hampshire County. Agriculture is the main business of the people; and the Bartletts were generally simple country farmers, more or less successful. Asahel, the father of Homer, was one of the most substantial of them; yet there was little chance for any of the boys to obtain a collegiate education. Homer was always studious, more fond of books than hard work. The district school was an humble affair; but that, with the tuition of the minister, and a limited attendance at Westfield Academy, enabled him to enter Williams College in 1814, at the age of nineteen. There he pursued the regular course as far as possible, with the interruption of school-keeping winters, for the means required that the home could not furnish. He graduated from college in 1818, and immediately commenced the study of law, under Hon. Daniel Noble and Judge Charles A. Dewey, in Williamstown. He was admitted to the bar in 1821. He followed his profession in Williamstown till 1824, when he removed from that quiet town, to the new and enterprising village of Ware, where with gratifying success he practised law, and acted

as cashier of the bank in the village, till 1832; when he was appointed agent of the Hampshire Manufacturing Company, with which company he was connected till he removed to Lowell in 1839.

Mr. Bartlett had no previous technical knowledge of cotton manufacturing; but it was more common then than at the present time, to select men who had proved their ability in other departments of business, especially lawyers, for the management of large concerns. The directors of the Hampshire Company thought they saw in Mr. Bartlett a talent that might be for their interest to secure. They tempted him to abandon his profession, and devote his powers to their service. The result did credit to their discernment. The company, however, was unfortunate, and collapsed through lack of harmony among those interested, rather than from any fault of their agent, as may be inferred from the after disposition made of him. About this time, the formation of the Massachusetts Cotton Mills company was agitated, and an individual who had been largely interested in the Hampshire Company was asked to subscribe to the Massachusetts stock, consented on condition that he might designate the man to manage the concern. Homer Bartlett was his man.

The Massachusetts Mill was incorporated in 1839, and October 18, of that year, Mr. Bartlett entered the employ of that company. He brought with him many chosen men from the Hampshire Mill, who served the Massachusetts Company during their lives, or till made agents of other companies or retired from business.

Mr. Bartlett held the agency till January, 1849, when he was chosen treasurer of the company. This office, the topmost position in the manufacturing line, he held till his resignation, January 22, 1872, a continuous service to the company of more than thirty-two years.

The Massachusetts Mills have been fairly successful. They have pursued an even, conservative course, avoiding extremes. Their stock has been less fluctuating than that of most companies. Mr. Bartlett was admirably adapted to running a cotton mill, securing the confidence and respect, and even the enthusiasm of his men in the competition between the different rooms, some excelling in the amount of product, some in the excellence, and some in the minimum cost. At one time the production of the Massachusetts Mills exceeded that of any other mills, and it was the occasion of the presentation of a cocked hat to the agent.

The Massachusetts Mills was the place to learn how to run a cotton mill; \$1,500 is said to have been paid to Mr. Bartlett by a prospective agent for instruction in that line. Mr. Bartlett was ever generous to his men, and freely recommended them for promotion to agencies of other mills, even to the disadvantage of his own mills. Said one, whose opportunities to know were ample, that more men were promoted from the Massachusetts to be agents elsewhere, than from all the other Lowell corporations. This statement may be a little exaggerated, but it was a spontaneous tribute to the memory of his friend.

He had a deep insight into human character and a complete control of men, without much outward demonstration. He was always anxious for the success of the mills, and deeply sensitive to any hindrance. He would suffer more from an excess of back-water than all the stockholders together.

It was his habit to visit the mills in the morning before he took his breakfast, to see that every department started off properly, and that every man was at his post. It is said that one official was sometimes late, and

Mr. Bartlett was constrained to administer a gentle caution. He was answered: "I knew *you* would be here, so that everything would be all right." Mr. Bartlett appreciated the wit and the compliment, and enjoyed telling the story to his fellow agents.

It is amusing to see how ready wit will disarm censure. Your president tells the story of a doctor of divinity, who, in his younger days, was principal of an academy in Vermont. He was slack in opening his school; and being met on the street one morning, half an hour after school time, by one of the trustees, who impatiently spoke of his delinquency, "Yes, yes," says the teacher, "I am sometimes late in the morning; but I endeavor to make it up by dismissing enough earlier at night."

Mr. Bartlett was, to a limited extent, a politician; not that he enjoyed such business, but rather from a sense of duty to the great interests of manufacturing, as well as to more local interests as a citizen. In exciting campaigns, general or local, he would take the platform. He could make an effective short address; but he was not a born orator, and he did not practice law long enough to acquire the arts of a demagogue. He was representative to the General Court from Ware in 1832, and from Lowell in 1849. He was presidential elector in 1844, and member of the governor's council in 1854. He had at one time, either from within or prompted by friends, an aspiration for congress. But votes are not always concentrated upon merit or fitness. The American party was then in the ascendant; and Mr. Bartlett had no fellowship with their principles or practices.

Mr. Bartlett was happy in his domestic relations. He was married February 6, 1823, to Mary, daughter of William Starkweather, of Williamstown. She had two sisters who married clergymen, and a brother who was a

lawyer. They were a superior family, and Mrs. Bartlett was worthy of her honored husband. They had but one child, and their lives were bound up in her welfare. No pains were spared to educate her for the position she filled so well as the wife of Mr. Frederick L. Richardson, the present treasurer of the Hill Mills at Lewiston, Me. She was the mother of several children, only one of whom was a daughter, who died in childhood. The oldest son, a namesake of his grandfather, is in successful business in New York City. The others are in various stages of preparation for usefulness in life. Thus the Bartlett name is not perpetuated in this line. Mrs. Bartlett died in Lowell, Oct. 3, 1850. Later in life Mr. Bartlett removed to Boston and married, for a second wife, Mrs. Louisa (Fowler) Hubbell, of Albany, N. Y., June 4, 1861. She belonged to a prominent and wealthy family. She was active in religious affairs, and was treasurer of an extensive missionary organization. I asked Mr. Bartlett if his wife was made treasurer on account of his own financial ability. "By no means," says he, "she is able to manage the business." She died May 27, 1873, and the eulogies pronounced at her funeral by the Rev. Drs. Blagden and Manning of the Old South, were such as would have fitted the greatest and the best.

Mr. Bartlett's heirs were not enriched by her wealth, nor did they need it. He knew how to husband his property, else he would not have been qualified for his position as treasurer of the Massachusetts Cotton Mills corporation. But he was not miserly. He was liberal to worthy objects. He was the family banker, and supported his aged parents without grudging.

Mr. Bartlett's influence was not limited to secular affairs. Many yet live in Lowell who can testify to his

faithfulness as a teacher of an adult class in the John Street Church Sunday School, where he was a constant attendant upon public worship. He was an admirer of the pastor, Rev. S. W. Hanks, whose terse sayings pleased him well; though they sometimes gave offence to the brethren when he lashed them directly for whipping him and each other behind their prayers. He united with that church while in Lowell, and when he removed to Boston he joined the Old South Church. Men in his position in society too often leave the church to women, and to whom they consider the weak brethren, but it is really the stronger minds that look beyond the things of this world.

Mr. Bartlett's life is one of a multitude of examples, showing the value of a country life in boyhood. The chores of the house, the barn, the wood pile, and the labors of the field, harden the muscle and subdue the mind and will to the realities of life. And the absence of city luxuries and temptations, and the high moral tone of society fortify the character, and fit the boy to succeed as a man in whatever department he may choose to labor.

Mr. Bartlett was of large stature, symmetrical in form, erect and dignified in bearing, courteous and genial in manners, and a noble example of a Christian gentleman. He died March 29, 1874, aged nearly seventy-nine years, and on the first day of April, under the ministrations of his former pastor, the Rev. S. W. Hanks, his body was consigned to the grave on a western slope in the garden of the dead on Mount Auburn, to await "The hour in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice and shall come forth."

XXX. *Lowell in 1826, written by A. B. Wright.*

[The following paper was published in the *Lowell Courier* April 24, 1886, being sixty years after the time stated at its commencement. It is here republished in its present form, the notes and illustration being added by the author.]

SIXTY years ago, April 24, 1826, it was my good fortune to become a resident of Lowell. I was, at that time, six and a half years old. In the following article I propose to give a view of Lowell, as I saw it on that day, so far as my memory serves me, and follow up and extend the view as it was revealed to me in the first few weeks thereafter. I made my entrance into the town about four o'clock in the afternoon on Saturday, beneath a cloudless sky, surrounded by a warm and summer-like atmosphere, perched upon the pinnacle of a limited amount of furniture piled upon a country farm wagon, drawn by two horses having a jaded and somewhat dilapidated appearance, owing to the fact that they had been several days upon the road from the mountain district of Vermont. My elevated position gave me a fine opportunity for observation, and so vivid was the impression made upon my mind, that the vision of that afternoon seems to be almost indelibly stamped upon my memory.

I came into the town by the way now known as Pawtucket Street, and the first object that arrested my attention after leaving Middlesex Village, was the McFarland house as it now stands opposite the ice houses.

Passing over the canal I came next to the Whitney house, on the right, perhaps better remembered by some as the residence of Jonathan Bowers. This house remains as then. Nearly opposite, on the left, were a wheelwright's shop, a blacksmith's shop, and, I think, one other small building, and farther along, upon the same side, was the house of Capt. John Ford, now remodelled into a dwelling of more modern appearance; then next in order came the residence of Jonathan Spalding, and now occupied by the surviving members of his family. Passing across the street, was the house of Elisha Ford, now standing, and subsequently owned by Mr. Corliss, an employee of the Gas Light Company; and next to this house and upon the corner of School Street, was the little store, also owned by Elisha Ford, that now graces this eligible position. This store was afterwards occupied by David and Paul Hill, where I have, in my 'prentice days, many times refreshed myself with a generous slice of molasses ginger bread and a glass of spruce beer in exchange for a copy of the *Lowell Journal*. Going into School Street, and not far up the hill, was a cottage house, and a few rods above were the dwelling and slaughter house of Benjamin Walker. These buildings were subsequently occupied by Osgood Dane, who many years ago left Lowell and went to Charlestown. About opposite the Walker house was a building, if not then, was subsequently used as a bakery, and above this building and near to it, was a small school house. All these buildings, except the school house, which has been rebuilt, still remain.

Passing down School Street, on the right, at the corner of Pawtucket, was the residence of Nathaniel Wright, Esq., which has since been radically changed in its external appearance, and near to that was the resi-

dence of James Bowers, which has, in recent years, been removed to one of the new streets in the immediate neighborhood. On the corner, opposite the Wright house, were the store and residence of Phineas Whiting, Esq. These buildings, in later years, were removed to make room for the elegant residence of Frederick Ayer, Esq. Going down the hill to the bridge, was a saw-mill, and doubtless a grist-mill also, as these two industries were generally found in company in those days. On the left of Pawtucket Street, and near to the Whiting residence, was the residence and cooper shop of Artemas Holden. This site is now occupied by the residence of the late George W. Shattuck. The residence of the late Dr. John O. Green I do not remember, although I think it must have been erected about this time. The next building that claimed my attention was the "Stone House," *alias* "Stone Tavern," Balch & Coburn, landlords. The "annex," now occupied by Frank Salmon, Esq., was not then erected. The next buildings I remember were the Melvin and Cheever houses at the foot of Pawtucket Falls; though I did not go in that direction, I discovered them from my elevated perch, as I passed down Salem Street, where I also observed one or two houses near Decatur Street, about opposite Common Street. Coming to the present junction of Adams Street with Salem Street, was the store of Francis Hobbs, three stories high, with the same general appearance it now bears, excepting that a recent structure seems to have been tied on to one of its corners.

Nearly opposite, on Adams Street, on the present site of the higher part of the brick block, were one or two wooden buildings, one of which was occupied by a manufacturer of cane weaving-reeds—that being the kind very largely, if not wholly, used sixty years ago.

Looking southerly from this point by the present line of Adams Street, and to the left, was the "Half Acre," then occupied by a score or more of huts, built of slabs, stones and turf, from the apex of whose roofs the smoke from the "open fireplace" below—the fashionable thing now—was conducted towards the "shining stars" through headless lime casks. This locality is the present site of St. Patrick's Church, and its adjacent appendages, and the near surrounding dwellings lying east of Adams Street and extending to Suffolk Street. Still farther southward beyond the line of Cross Street, and extending in the direction of the Mechanics' Mills, between Suffolk and Fletcher Streets, was the "Acre" proper. Here the huts were of the same character as upon the "Half Acre," and more in number. Seventy-five rods, or thereabouts, in a southwesterly direction, "solitary and alone," stood the Willie farm house, somewhat venerable with age, even sixty years ago. This house was subsequently moved to the corner of Broadway and Willie Streets, or into that immediate neighborhood, and renewed its youth with new clapboards and fresh paint.

Returning my vision to the main line at the head of Cabot Street, as Market Street had not yet been constructed, I went down Cabot Street to Merrimack Street, which at this time was limited in its westerly course by its junction with Cabot Street. The first building on Merrimack Street that claimed my attention was then occupied by Simon Adams as a store, it having been previously occupied by Jonathan C. Morrill, Lowell's first postmaster, if not as a store, as a dwelling and postoffice, and is the same building so long occupied by Albert Wheeler, the grocer, and now continued by his son. In close proximity to this building, and west thereof, were

one or two smaller buildings, one of which was used as a millinery store.*

Continuing my course by the house now occupied by Charles B. Coburn, which was the former residence of Warren Colburn, but not in its present position, I came next to the Merrimack school house (nearly opposite the Colburn house as it then stood) standing upon the present site of the Green Grammar School.†

The next object that arrested my attention were workmen engaged in excavating the ledge for the purpose of erecting the present brick block extending westerly from Worthen Street. This was the first brick building erected upon Merrimack Street.‡ I next came to the site upon which the Merrimack House was erected in 1832. Here upon my left I had a full view of the two or three mills erected by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, the "Front Row" (on Dutton Street), "Middle Row," "Third Row" (on Worthen Street), and "John Bull's Row" (on Prince Street), as the boarding

* At this period of time Merrimack Street, between Colburn and Hanover Streets, diverged towards the north from its present line and passed directly by these buildings; but two or three years later the County Commissioners relocated this part of Merrimack Street, making it straight, and discontinued the old road at this point, thus making it *seem* as though these buildings had been changed in their position; but such is not the fact. For some years, this open space between the old and new location of the street, was called Merrimack Square. The old county road, commencing at the junction of School Street with Pawtucket Street, followed the present line of Pawtucket Street to Salem Street, thence continuing on the present line of Salem Street to Cabot Street, thence following the line of Cabot Street to Merrimack Street, it continued on the course before indicated to the angle in the street on the contemplated city hall site, and from thence to Central Street in nearly a straight line. Merrimack Street was not continued west from Cabot Street until ten or fifteen years after.

† This school house has become historic in the religious history of Lowell. Here it was that St. Anne's Church began its existence, March 7, 1824, and where it continued to hold religious services until March, 1825, when it took possession of its new church upon the same street. The Baptists next occupied the house and continued to hold services until the dedication of their house of worship on Church Street, Nov. 15, 1826. After the Baptists came the Congregationalists, where they remained until the completion of their new church, in 1827, upon the adjoining lot. The school house was subsequently sold to Dea. William Davidson, and removed to Cabot Street, upon the west side, and converted into a dwelling house. It stands next south of a brick dwelling upon the same street.

‡ Opposite this block, about where the Prince house stood, previous to 1826 were small buildings owned by Joseph Woodward. These at one time were occupied by Mr. Wheeler, who subsequently removed to Belvidere.

houses upon this corporation were then designated ; also the residence of the late John D. Prince on the east end of the proposed city hall site. No material changes have been made in these several "rows," except that a few of the wooden houses have been moved from Dutton Street to the site of the contemplated city hall, and the present elegant brick block erected in their place. All the other brick blocks standing upon these several "rows" have since been erected, excepting the two-story brick structures standing upon Dutton and Worthen Streets, and upon the east side of Prince Street. Originally the Prince St. block (of brick) was erected in two parts—one part being one story high and the other one story and a half high. In after years additional stories were added.

Turning my vision to the right there appeared in full view the Lowell Machine Shop, a saw mill within the same enclosure, and west of these the wooden boarding houses as they now stand upon Dutton and Worthen Streets, including the residence of Paul Moody, now next south of the Baptist Church, with a plot of fine lawn in front sloping to a semi-circular artificial pond on the line of Dutton Street.

Passing on over the canal to the present location of Wentworth's building, I came upon the house of Moses Shattuck, the out-door superintendent of the Locks and Canals Company, and a short distance away, in the rear of the city building, and about in the line of Middle Street, was a barn. Upon my left was St. Anne's Church and the parsonage near by. Farther along, between the present lines of Kirk and John Streets, were four buildings of uniform appearance, which were called "Cottage Row." In one of these the *Lowell Journal* was located.*

* These buildings, a few years later, were removed to Belvidere,—two of them being located upon Water Street, south of Pond Street, and two upon Pond Street, east of Water Street.

Passing beyond these, I came into full view of the residence of Kirk Boott, Esq., which stood about on the present line of French Street, at its junction with John Street.

Going farther on I came to the road (now called Bridge Street) leading to the ferry over the Merrimack River, where stone abutments and piers were nearly ready to receive Central Bridge, which was fully completed before the close of the year. Between the road and Concord River, on the line of Merrimack Street, was the "Nathan Tyler Mansion."* In approaching the buildings I came first to the barn, not far from the line of Bridge Street, then to the house, which was nearly on the line of the canal as it now runs. The house was square in form, two stories high, and was surmounted with a quadrangular roof, terminating in an apex. Joining on to the house, and extending towards the Concord River, was a structure about sixty feet in length, two stories high, having a pitch roof with gables. It has since come to my knowledge that this addition was a comparatively new structure, erected by the Merrimack corporation after it came into possession of the property by purchase.†

After leaving the Tyler estate the street descended by a sharp decline to the bridge over Concord River.

* There is evidence which goes to show that after the "Tyler Farm" was purchased by the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, and the house was converted into a hotel, it was commonly called the "Merrimack Hotel," though this name was sometimes applied to the "Stone Tavern" at Pawtucket Falls; but about the year 1830 Cushing Baker became the lessee of the Tyler house and he changed the name to "Mansion House," by which name it ever after was called.

† The house and the addition, about 1835, were removed. The house now stands at the corner of Salem and Dane Streets, and is surmounted by a French roof. The addition was removed to Market Street, and is the second block east of Cabot Street, and is but little changed in its external appearance, and was owned by the late Dr. John O. Green at his decease in 1886. The barn was purchased by the late Humphrey Webster, taken down and partially re-erected upon the west side of Bridge Street, near Tenth, but was subsequently removed to the east side of Bridge, corner of Eighth, and for many years was occupied, if not owned, by the late Mark Manahan.

Crossing the bridge I entered upon what is now known as East Merrimack Street, having at this point a grade lower than at present. The first building on the right was occupied as a store in the first story, and stood about on the west line of what is now Davidson Street. About in the line of Davidson Street, in the rear, was the barn of the late Aaron Mansur, Esq., while next in order was his dwelling house, beyond this and near to it, a small one-story house, and after this a two-story building with its gable end on the street. Fifty feet or more beyond the last building named was what was subsequently known as the "City Hotel," but then being but two stories high, and also occupied as a hotel. Beyond, but in the rear of the hotel was a large stable, the same being now occupied by the Horse Railway Company. Near to the hotel on the street was a building now occupied as a car house in its lower story. This building was but two stories, but has since been raised and extended to some extent in the rear. After this was a three-story building on the corner of Howe Street, erected a year or two before by Winthrop Howe, and was used as a hotel for some years thereafter.

On the opposite side of the street, beginning at the bridge, was the same brick building as now standing, and a short distance beyond was a small building in which was a lawyer's office on the first floor, and next was a two-story building partly used as a store, and near to this was a dwelling house, and in close company was another dwelling and a barn near by. From the lawyer's office to this point, the land was some elevated, and is the same now covered by the long wooden block ending at Brown Street. In the rear, on the margin of the river, was a small brick house, and the first of the kind to be erected near this point. Stackpole Street, from East

Merrimack Street, and the block on the river side were built upon land made beyond the shore line of the river down as far as Whittier's mill.

When I arrived opposite the head of Howe Street, I had a complete view of its entire length, where I saw upon the right a stable, now occupied as a car house, and a two-story house as now seen upon the south corner of Davidson Street, and beyond this the Howe flannel mills, and opposite these Bradley's grist mill at the extreme left, and Abijah Brown's pump and wheelwright shop adjoining. North of these was a block of four brick houses, to which one was added the same year. Between this block and East Merrimack Street was a carpenter's shop, to which was joined a long horse shed, used as an appurtenant to Howe's Hotel. Continuing along East Merrimack Street, the next house, beginning with the following week, gave nightly shelter to my head for one year. A few years later this house was destroyed by fire. The next house in the course was occupied by Joseph G. Kittredge, the blacksmith, whose brother still resides in Lowell.* This house stands upon the corner of Fayette Street, and the house upon the opposite corner was the last house upon that side of the street within the present limits of Lowell. This house was the residence of Mr. Wheeler, whose sons, in after years, became so well known to Lowell people. When at this point the only things in the shape of buildings to be discovered looking south through Fayette Street, were, upon the right, the blacksmith shop of Mr. Kittredge, in the rear of his house, and a large square dwelling in process of erection, upon the corner of Chestnut Street extended to the river, for Mr. Hunting, and, upon the left or the east side of the street, a small brick dwelling, also in

* The brother, William Kittredge, died a few months after this sketch was first published.

process of construction for Mr. French. A house of wood has since been joined to it.

Beginning at Brown Street, upon the left of East Merrimack Street, was even then an ancient appearing dwelling upon the corner, which was known as the Joseph Tyler house, an uncle of the late Jonathan Tyler, and in the rear of this was another dwelling. Next east of the Tyler house, which now stands in its ancient place, was a ravine fifty or sixty feet wide, which became wider as it extended north to the Concord River, and terminated in what is now Stackpole Street, in front of Whittier's mill, in quite deep water, which was known as the "Pout Hole." This ravine was formerly the bed of an arm of Concord River, which came around from the foot of Howe Street. With six feet of water upon Pawtucket dam, I have seen a river boat called a "gundalow," come up this ravine to the line of the street loaded to its utmost capacity, where its cargo was discharged.

[See diagram at the end of this paper, with explanatory notes, illustrating this part of Belvidere and the adjacent territory across the river.]

Next beyond the ravine, upon the corner of the street extending in the direction of the Catholic Church was the same house as now standing, except the westerly part, now or formerly occupied by Mr. Owen, has since been added. Going towards the church was the small house as now seen, and next to this, and the last upon this side of the street, was a double house, the northerly one giving to me my first night's shelter at the termination of what seemed a long journey. This house was removed when the church was erected, and now stands upon the east bank of Concord River, within a few feet of the track of the Boston & Maine Railroad where it crosses the river.

I had hardly been landed from my high perch above the furniture, when I began to make explorations in order to get the "lay of the land" about my new home, and the remaining part of this paper will give my readers the result of my observations during the remainder of that day and in the few weeks that immediately followed. My first act was to go upon the open square, where now stands the High Street Church, which then had not been graded down as it now appears, but was covered with a crop of fresh grown grass, making a turf solid and firm. In front of me was the Gedney mansion, since removed a short distance to the east to make room, as it seems, for the recent addition to St. John's Hospital. At the rear of the Gedney mansion, and joining to its northwest corner, was "Livermore's Hall," extending back over the present line of Stackpole Street to the sloping bank of the river. This hall has been twice removed, and now stands in the rear of the church upon Stackpole Street, and as I looked upon it a few weeks since it appears to have been extended in length at some time since it was first erected. At my right hand and facing the square was the newly erected mansion of Judge Edward St. Loe Livermore, the then owner of the entire Gedney estate. In front of the house, and extending the entire length of the square upon the east side, was a double row of Lombardy poplars, then just budding into leafage. The Livermore house, I recently observed, has been removed to Bartlett Street, directly in the rear of the parochial school building. Near to the Livermore house, towards East Merrimack Street, was a two-story dwelling which, in after years, was occupied by James K. Fellows, Esq., and next to this, upon the site of the Moody School House, was a small dwelling occupied by one Wood. This building now stands very near to the

school house, perhaps in the rear thereof, and a short distance east of the school house, upon the same side of the street, was one other dwelling.

Before I left the square I directed my vision across Merrimack River to a point near the terminus of the bridge, which seven months later was completed. I discovered a large house nearly in front of the ferry landing. This building was erected by Joseph Bradley, and in after years was known as "Barron's Hotel." Beyond this house, and upon the west side of Bridge Street, between West Third and West Fourth Streets, was another dwelling, where then resided the widow of Ezra Worthen, who had been one of the prominent officials of the Merrimack Company. Nearly opposite, upon the corner of Third Street, was also a dwelling then occupied by Joseph Bradley before named, and to this house, six months later, I made a visit for the purpose of carrying a verbal message, under circumstances I shall never forget. My father had a contract to put in the foundation for the toll-house which was to be erected at the south end of the bridge, near where now stands one of the Boott mills. The work was not fully completed until eight o'clock of the last day when the job was agreed to be finished. The road-way of the bridge was not completed, but loose planks were promiscuously laid upon the stringers at indefinite distances. At this time there was a partial moon, and to please my father, I went the entire length of the bridge (five hundred feet or more), and safely returned, sometimes leaping from one plank to another, to notify one of the "bridge committee" that my father's contract was completed. As I look back to that "little excursion" over the bridge, going from one plank to another, with large openings between, twenty feet above the river, I wonder that I am here to gratify

my vanity by narrating my boyish feat—then being only seven years old.

Besides the three buildings before mentioned, there was one near Tenth Street, upon the west side of Bridge, and on Tenth Street, on "Christian Hill," were two farm-houses, then known as the Parker and Thissel estates. Turning to the line of Hildreth Street, there were two or three buildings between Tenth Street and the burying-ground. These were all the buildings then in that part of Dracut now comprised within the limits of Lowell.

Going up High Street, south of East Merrimack, and upon the east side, extending to the line of the Rogers land, there were but five buildings. The first was a small dwelling, formerly a school house, about twenty-five rods north of Chestnut Street, and in the rear of the residence of the late Charles Stott, Esq., was another dwelling which some years after was removed a short distance towards the north. The next building is now the fourth dwelling south of Chestnut Street, and was in process of finishing by its owner, Nathan Kimball, Esq., the late father of Jonathan Kimball, Esq., now a resident of Chelsea, Mass., and a well-remembered master in one of Lowell's grammar schools, as also a teacher in her High School. The remaining two buildings upon this side of the street were situated near Oak Street, and were a house and barn belonging to Judge Livermore. The house was subsequently moved to Nesmith Street, and for some years was the residence of the late Theodore H. Sweetser, Esq., and the barn at an earlier date was moved to the corner of Chestnut Street, where it now stands, and was converted into a dwelling by one Ellis, and occupied by him until his decease a few years later.

Upon the west side of High Street, the first building was the one now said to be owned by Luther Shepard, the lawyer, and in its external shape seems to have undergone no material alteration since it was erected by its first owner, John Shattuck, Esq., late of Concord, Mass. As the present occupants of this building are now probably favored with the use of the public water, it may do no harm to state the fact that when this building was erected, a year or two before I first saw it, in digging for the well, six Indian skeletons were taken from within the circumference of the excavation. The next building was a dwelling occupied and owned by one Smith, a plane maker, and stands about twenty feet from the line of the street. Between this house and Chestnut Street were two small dwellings, the first of which seems to have an addition made to it by building towards the street, and the second has been moved to the rear of the second dwelling north of Chestnut Street. South of and on the line of Chestnut Street, and about fifty feet or more from High Street, was a small dwelling which in after years was considerably enlarged by additions.

The next building was a few feet south of Andover Street, and was soon after occupied by John Kimball, Esq., the late father of John F. Kimball, Esq., president of the Appleton Bank. In the rear of this house was a large barn. The house has since been removed a short distance to the south. The last buildings upon this side of the street were a house and barn erected by the late Josiah B. French, Esq., and are now owned and occupied by Frank Brown, Esq.

So far as Belvidere is concerned, I believe I have brought to view all the buildings there were in what now is that part of Lowell, excepting the old Rogers' dwelling, the immense barn that stood near the entrance to

the Park, at the left, and since burned, and the cider mill "that stood near it,"—adding, however, to these the "Lowell Cottage," and a barn connected therewith, upon Andover Street, beyond the residence of General Butler, and now appearing to be in a somewhat dilapidated condition; also the hut of Ned Haley, an Irish squatter upon land of Eben Hunt, between the North Tewksbury old road and Merrimack River, just east of where a street now enters the old road.

Hoping my readers are not completely exhausted by the long tramp they have thus far had with me, I will ask them to still continue with me in order to see what further discoveries can be made concerning the appearance of Lowell sixty years ago, hoping my memory will enable me to show them nearly all the remaining buildings that were to be seen at that point of time. For this purpose it will be necessary to recross Concord River, but as then there were but two bridges spanning the river, one of which we have but recently crossed at East Merrimack Street, and the other is near to what is now the cemetery entrance, we will use the latter as a saving of time and travel. As we have now been some time at Mr. Brown's house, we will start from this point and go "across lots" to the place to be reached. As apples and other fruits are now only in the flower bud, we probably shall not be deemed to be trespassers, as in former days, if we enter upon the Rogers land; and though the present owners may possibly look upon us as tramps, yet we can possibly escape their vigilant eyes, and reach our destination in safety. Therefore we will go over the wall here and make directly for the locomotive house on the bank of the river. Just above this point, and where the river is most narrow, some evidences can be seen of a bridge which spanned the river at some former time.

As this is the more convenient point to make certain observations, we will sit down upon this cool grass and see what we can discover. Directly opposite, where now stand the Richmond factory buildings, might have been seen a mass of low, dingy buildings black with age and the smoke of coal. These were an iron foundry, a great smithy, with huge trip-hammers and all the accessories of extensive forging works. These were erected long before Francis C. Lowell had ever dreamed that a great and growing city was here to bear his name. These works were the property of the brothers Ames, whose sons in later days acquired such celebrity in the manufacture of arms and cutlery at Springfield in this state. Just below these caves of Vulcan, in the rear of that point of rocks jutting into the river, was a short stretch of fine gravelly beach, where the Baptists and Methodists often resorted to baptise their converts upon their profession of faith in Christ as a personal Saviour. High up on the bank farther along, and now next to the school house, in that small house, now a stranger to paint, was subsequently born and lived one Morey, who figured somewhat conspicuously in connection with a certain letter in regard to the election of President Garfield. Somewhat farther north, upon the line of Lawrence Street, and where now stands the residence of Hapgood Wright, Esq., was a large dwelling called the "Castle," which was subsequently removed to Church Street, west of George, where now stands a double brick dwelling, and was torn down when that was erected.*

As no more discoveries of importance can be made

* About a year after the foregoing was written, there came to my hand a lithographic view of Lowell, "taken from the house of Zadoc Rogers, in Tewksbury, near Fort Hill, in 1830," by one Kidder. In this view, the "Castle" is seen in the fore-ground of the picture, the rear part resting upon long posts, as the land falls abruptly towards the river.

over the river at this point let us pass on to this two-acre plot on the highest part of the land, nearly opposite the island, then covered with beautiful oaks, but long since "laid low by the woodman's cruel axe." From here we will go hence over the extension of Taylor Street, and pass into the same woods that fringed the river's bank sixty years ago, to the bridge we propose to cross. How beautiful and charming this walk is among these trees of beech, birch, hemlock (not a very plentiful tree in this region), maple, pine and sassafras. As we walk in the cool of the shade of these trees (and may their shadow continue to fall upon this ground for sixty years to come, if not longer) we have frequent glimpses of the powder works of Tileston & Whipple, that stretched along the river upon the opposite side from the mouth of Hale's Brook to Moore Street. As we are now directly in line with Moore Street, and this stone-arched bridge will lead us directly to it, we will cross the river here. This bridge was discontinued many years ago, when the one above was built, and the arches removed, excepting one upon the west side of the river.

Having now crossed the river into Moore Street, the first buildings that claim our attention are the dwelling house and barns of the late Oliver M. Whipple as they now stand, and twenty rods or more in the rear of these, just in the edge of a grove of oaks, was a stone dwelling, the same as now. Opposite the residence of Mr. Whipple was another dwelling, now the residence of Mr. Meadowcroft. Passing along the south side of the street to a point about opposite the large dwelling owned by the Bleachery Company, and a few rods back from the street, was an ancient dwelling, perhaps then in the neighborhood of an hundred years of age, and beyond this was the low, long dwelling of Simeon Moors. Going

farther along into Central Street, the first buildings seen were the house and barn of Mr. Osgood, and long occupied by his children after his decease. These buildings yet remain, but their external appearance has been somewhat changed.

Upon the east side of Central Street, where now stands the Butler School house, was a large white house, and a short distance beyond was another of like size and appearance. Between these two houses was a private way, which ran easterly thirty rods or more to where were one or two powder mills and other small manufacturing buildings, all of which were the property of Moses Hale. Crossing Central Street to the west side was an ancient-appearing small house, which yet remains. Next beyond, and north of the brook, were the well-known "Hale's Mills," comprising grist and saw mills, wool-carding machines, etc. Back of these, upon the higher ground, was the Hale mansion as now to be seen, and upon the east side of the street was an old house belonging to Elisha Davis, or of that family. This ancient house was removed or taken down and the present residence of Elisha Davis erected in its place.

A short distance beyond, upon the west side of Central Street, was the historic "red school house," which has figured somewhat prominently in connection with some of the early religious enterprises of the city. This building is now a dwelling house. The next building in order is now the residence of John F. Frye, Esq., having been erected by his father, who was of the firm of Frye & Abbot, a well-known firm in Lowell's early days; and nearly opposite, upon the south corner of Wamesit Street, was the small house now to be seen, and which is prominently connected with early Baptist history in Lowell. Near to this house, and northeast of the

house of Samuel N. Wood, was also another dwelling. Crossing Hosford Square, the next building to be seen was the bakery established by John Mead and Matthias Parkhurst two or three years before, but who soon after were succeeded by Isaac Scripture, by whose name it is now so well known. Passing to the east side of the street, below the bakehouse, were three or four buildings, one of which stood in the present line of North Street, and south of this were the residence and stable of Samuel Wood, who was the first to transport merchandise between Lowell and Boston.

Lower down the hill, at the corner of Union Street, was a store kept by one Marshall. This building is now a double dwelling house. Upon the opposite corner was the residence of Robert Taylor, whose name is now perpetuated in one of the streets near Concord River. Next north of the Taylor house, and near to it, was another dwelling, and opposite Union Street was the small house now to be seen, with one or two other buildings upon that side of Central Street between North and Charles Streets.

Upon Union Street, between Central and Gorham Streets, were one or two dwellings and a stable. These were destroyed by fire about 1842. Upon Chapel Street, between Union and Elm Streets, were also five dwellings besides the dwelling of Henry Van Vronker south of Elm Street. East of Central, towards Lawrence Street, and between Charles and North Streets, were the soap works of John Mead, and near to these were three or four dwellings.

Upon the west side of Central Street, at what is now or was called "Luther's Court," were two dwellings, one upon either corner of the court as they now stand, and in the court were two or three more, some of which

were subsequently utilized as a bakery. Upon the south corner of Tyler and Central Streets was a small dwelling which a few years later became the scene of an event by which the mother of several children came to a tragic death, in which the verdict was, "Rum did it." On the north corner of the same street was a dwelling which was subsequently removed to School, just north of Middlesex Street, where it now stands. Near to the dwelling before its removal were one or two other buildings, which were subsequently converted into soap works by Messrs. Horn & Allen, who pursued their business here until their removal to new buildings erected by them in the rear of the new location of the dwelling before named. Next to these was the wheelwright shop of Dea. Daniel Bowen, who just recently died in Buffalo, N. Y. At the corner of Church Street was a building which now is occupied by Messrs. Nichols & Fletcher, who claim to have descended in unbroken succession from Messrs. Mansur & Reed, who were grocers near by as early as 1824. This building has since been greatly enlarged. About opposite, at the corner of Appleton Street extended, was a small building. This building was occupied about this time by Addison Brastow, the first practical watchmaker in Lowell.

In crossing the head of Church Street, and looking towards Belvidere, nothing could be seen between this point and the bridge except three small dwellings just west of Warren Street, where it joins Church Street. Upon the north corner of Church Street stood "Carter's Hotel" (Washington House), with its long hall and two stables in the rear, while north was the brick building upon the corner of Green Street, but then not joined by the hotel as it now appears. This building was subsequently called the "Union House," and is the one alluded

to by General Butler in his semi-centennial address in 1876, as the place where he found peaceful rest in 1828, on the first night after his arrival in Lowell.

Crossing Green Street to the corner now occupied by the railway station, stood a building occupied by Mansur & Reed, before alluded to, and from this point to Hurd Street was an unbroken chain of buildings,—the postoffice being in one very near, if not upon, what is now the north corner of William Street, Jacob Robbins, the first apothecary, occupying another one or two doors from the postoffice; and next in order was a low building, about on the present site of the *Vox Populi* newspaper, in the attic of which was subsequently established the *Lowell Evangelist*, a Baptist newspaper. Next to this was a two-story dwelling; and next, on the corner of Hurd Street, was a grocery store in a building which now stands on Hurd Street next to the residence of Dr. Allen, taking the place of two that were removed to make room for it. Before its removal from the corner, the *Lowell Journal* was driven from its location on Merrimack Street but found a resting place in this building and the adjoining one. In an article published in the *Journal* at the time, it was said in substance that the cause of the removal was an act of tyranny on the part of its landlord, the Merrimack corporation, or its agent, Kirk Boott, for which a settlement would be had in the courts.

At the corner of Jackson and Central Streets was a dwelling, which soon after was removed to the corner of Church and George Streets, and became the residence of the late Dea. Joseph Tapley. The Tapley house has recently been removed and in its place has been erected a large brick building covering the entire lot. Opposite the American House was a wooden building occupied as

a store by James Tyler and his brother (not, however, of the family of Jonathan Tyler so prominent in Lowell history). This building was afterwards moved to the east side of Central Street, adjoining the canal on the north, and then again to the south corner of Appleton and Gorham Streets, where the Runals block now stands.

Upon the north corner of Central and Hurd Streets was the store of Cushing Baker, which now stands next to St. Paul's Church, and at the corner of Warren Street was the "Morse Building," and in the rear of this was the "Warren House." These three buildings covered the present location of the "Appleton Block," including, perhaps, a stable that was in the rear.

"Fry's Tavern" was the next building, and covered a large part of the present location of the American House. This building was removed in two parts, one (the principal part) going to Warren Street, next east of the Norris Stable, and the smaller portion going to the south side of Elm Street, east of Chapel. Beyond the American House, about in the line of Prescott Street, were two buildings, in one of which was a cabinet maker, whose name was Johnson, and soon after I made the acquaintance of printers' types in 1832, I heard the "*Globe*" mentioned in connection with these buildings, a newspaper referred to in Alfred Gilman's interesting "History of Lowell's Newspapers." On the site of the "Tyler Block," erected some years ago, were three low wooden structures, now represented by three stores. The first, on the corner of Market Street, was at one time, if not then, occupied by Weld Spalding and his brother, grocers, the second by Thomas Billings, the first binder and bookseller in Lowell, and the third as a dry goods store. These comprised the last of all the buildings, as I remember, upon Central Street sixty years ago.

Upon Hurd Street, besides those before mentioned, were three dwellings upon the north side and Mr. Hurd's house upon the south side, recently, if not now, occupied by Postmaster Haggett, and the large boarding house beyond, at the corner of George Street, and east of George Street, two or three hundred feet therefrom, on the line of the railway track, was another small house. The Hurd Mills comprised two buildings, one being wood and situated at the end of the dam on Concord River, and the other brick, small in size, directly below the principal entrance to the present factory yard. The former was destroyed by fire (the first in Lowell) a few weeks later. Upon Green Street were five or six dwellings, and a few rods north of Green Street was a school-house, which a few years later was removed to the rear of the First Baptist Church, and from thence to George Street, where it now stands as the third dwelling north from Tyler Street.

Upon the Hamilton Corporation two mills and a dye-house were completed, and a third in process of erection, together with several blocks of boarding houses. Appleton Street had but one dwelling, and that was the residence of Samuel Bachelder, now owned by the Catholics. Middlesex Street terminated at the Northern railway station, which point then was the Mecca of every Englishman in town, for here was located a brewery, a wooden structure now occupied as a store, now standing next west of the railway track, having been removed to its present location to make a way for the track. The Fletcher farm house obstructed the future locality of Summer Street, a few rods west of the Eliot Church, and a large barn was near by, within the present limits of the common. These buildings stood upon an old road which opened at the corner of Gorham and Middlesex

Streets, and running in a southwest direction near to the corner of Appleton and South Streets, it continued on, going at the rear of the houses of the late Convers Nichols, on Appleton Street, and of Mr. Edwards on Summer Street, it passed directly in front of the Eliot Church, crossing Thorndike Street and going to the rear of the jail, it formed a junction with Hale Street near the bridge over the railway.

Commencing at this point, and passing through Hale Street to Chelmsford Street, there were two or three dwellings, one of which was occupied by Reuben Butterfield; and passing into Chelmsford Street there was a dwelling just beyond the intersection of Liberty Street. Continuing along to Parker Street, opposite Plain Street, was a school-house occupying the same location as the present structure; but as Chelmsford Street then followed the same course as Parker Street, the Simon Parker house and barn could have been seen in the same position as now at the top of the hill. Here the street diverged to the south, leading by the tomb of the Marshall family, of whom Avery, Luther and Hezekiah are well-remembered persons. If the town records of Lowell are examined in its earlier days, it will be found that for some years the official warrants of the selectmen for public meetings of the people terminated thus—"A true copy. Attest, Luther Marshall, Constable." The small house long occupied by these three brothers (and where they died) can be seen as one passes along Parker Street in the direction of Stevens Street.

Passing along the old road by the tomb before mentioned, the Isaac Chamberlain house came next to view. The house was subsequently occupied by E. B. Patch, then Addison Putnam, and then Dr. Jenness. Near to the location of the city buildings was the house or

houses of the Coburn family. Of this family, Lowell has had no more honorable names than Charles B., Henry, Stephen A., and Franklin Coburn.

Going north into Stevens Street, here were to be seen the small dwellings of Mr. Stevens and Mrs. Pierce. Continuing on through Stevens Street, as it has been recently extended from Parker Street into Pine Street, and turning east, was to be seen the house now occupied by Jephtha Parker near the Highland School house. Continuing on through Pine to Liberty Street, at the junction of School, were two or three buildings; and near by, on School Street, stood an old dwelling which, in after years, was occupied by the late Alanson Crane. On Liberty Street, near to its junction with Chelmsford Street, was the small dwelling of William Fletcher, and now to be seen.

Of those portions of Lowell which but just recently have been set off from Chelmsford and that part of Dracut extending west from the "Navy Yard" (which name was applied to this locality sixty years ago), I have no definite remembrance, except at Middlesex Village, through which I went on my way to Lowell, I remember the half-dozen or more buildings and their location.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES AND FACTS.

After I had been honored by a request of the OLD RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION, through their honored Secretary, Alfred Gilman, Esq., for permission to publish the foregoing paper, I wrote Ignatius Tyler, Esq., who is now residing at Montreal, Canada, and was born in the "Mansion House" (No. 5 on the map), for information concerning a causeway represented by a short dotted line on the map, as for what purpose it was constructed; for it was supposed by later residents, that it indicated that a mill of some kind had at an earlier time been

located here. I here insert his reply in full, which imparts much valuable information :

MONTREAL, April 20, 1887.

A. B. WRIGHT, Esq.:

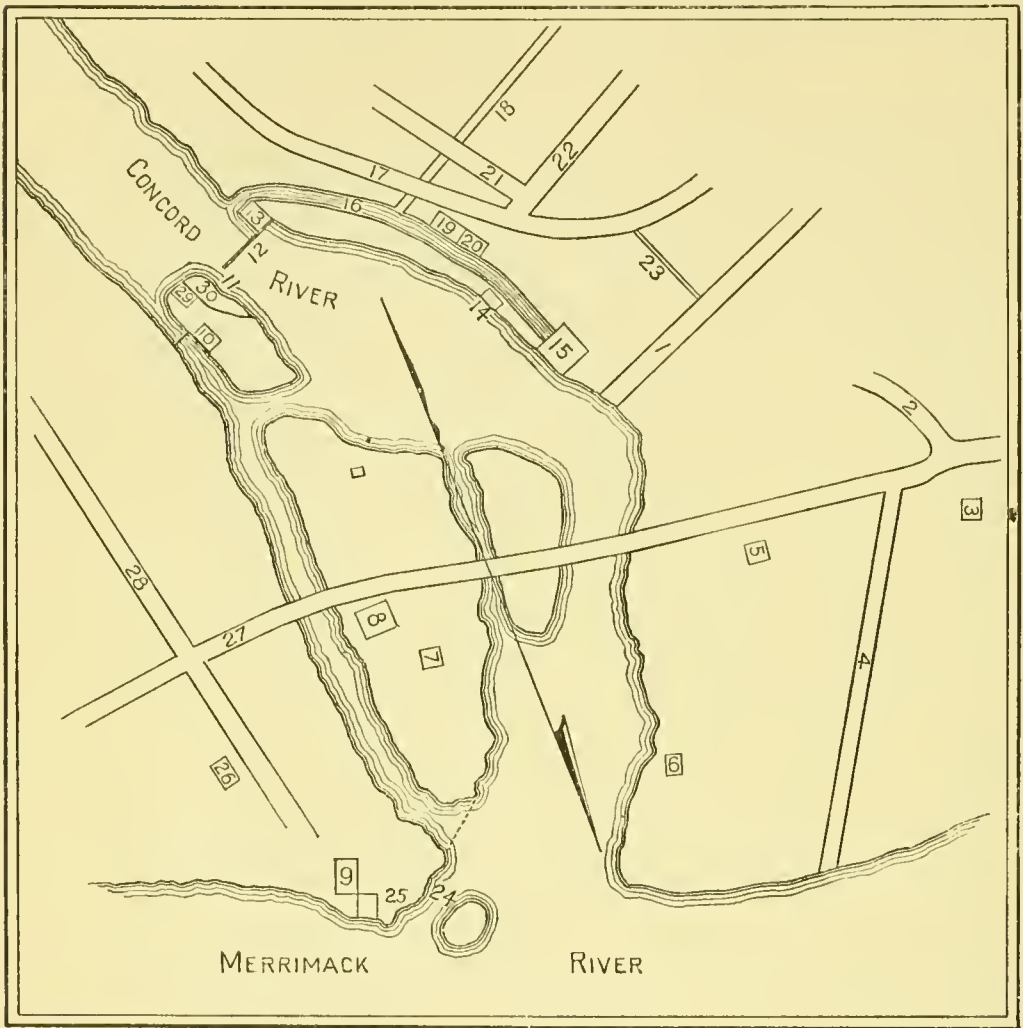
Dear Sir,—Your favor of the 16th inst. received and contents noticed. The causeway you mention was built by the fishermen for the purpose of drawing their nets. The mouth of Concord River was a noted place for fishing. There has been taken at one haul over a thousand shad. You will see by the pencil-sketch that there were originally four islands, consequently there were three bridges. The saw-mill was on the island, built, I suppose, by John Tyler, the father of Joseph and Nathan Tyler. Joseph owned and occupied the three islands, with his sons. Nathan Tyler was my father. I don't recollect of any Tylers occupying any store, except James Tyler who kept the store on the south side of Central Street, opposite the Fry Tavern. The store was built by Aaron Mansur, and thence moved to the west side of the canal. Amos Tyler kept a meat shop near the Fry Tavern. There was an ell built on the Nathan Tyler house and kept as a hotel, called the Mansion House. The main part of the house was moved up near the hospital, where it now stands,—it being the house where I was born in 1805. There was a large business of fishing all along the river. There were two places for fishing above the bridge, and two below, where they hauled their nets; and many shad and salmon were caught in the fishing season in May and June. In the evening there could be seen, up and down the river, some forty or fifty canoes rowing up the river, and drifting down with their nets out. The fish would get gilled, so that when they took the nets in with the fish it used to be a good sight to see the fleet drifting down the river. The law allowed three days for fishing on the Merrimack and two on the Concord River; but in the night it was difficult for the fish-wardens to catch them, so the fly-net men would fish most all the time. Salmon, at Hunt's and Pawtucket Falls, were taken by fish-pots and scoop-nets, and lamprey eels mostly by hook from the rocks; but now it seems to be a lost art above the Lawrence Dam.

Yours truly,

IGNATIUS TYLER.

No. 21 McGill College Avenue.

Accompanying this reply was a pencil sketch showing this island territory, as represented on the following map, as it was in Indian times, to which were added the objects represented by the numbers from 1 to 15 inclusive, and 27 and 28. The objects represented by the remaining numbers were added and located by the author, and the whole reproduced in the form of a map specially engraved for this purpose.



EXPLANATIONS OF THE MAP.

The following corresponding numbers to those on the map, are the explanations of the objects there represented, to which are added some historical facts.

1. Pawtucket Canal where it enters Concord River, at the Lower Locks.
2. Central Street.
3. The Fletcher House, now the site of the Hildreth Building.
4. The lane leading to the ferry landing on Merrimack River, now Bridge Street.
5. The Tyler Mansion, subsequently enlarged, used as a hotel, and finally known as the Mansion House.

6. Fish-house, on the present site of one of the Massachusetts Mills.

7. This represents a dwelling whose appearance indicated, when I first saw it in 1826, as being at least fifty years old. Among the evidences of old age, was that it contained the immense fire-place so common in buildings of ancient structure. By whom it was built I have not ascertained. John T. Tyler appearing to be the owner of this territory at the beginning of the century, if not before, I surmise that it may have been built by him. Its internal finish and spacious rooms indicated that it was erected by some one with ample means.

8. This is the building named in my description of Belvidere as being next to the ravine, which was the bed of an arm of the river, as seen upon the map. This was the house of Joseph Tyler.

9. This number represents the Gedney mansion before alluded to, erected about 1763 by Timothy Brown, and the same now to be seen east of the hospital, and used in connection with that building.

10. This was the location of the Bradley grist-mill and adjoining buildings, as I found them in 1826. This spot was doubtless the place occupied by a saw and grist-mill as early as 1750, if not before, and once owned by Thomas Hunt in connection with a large tract of the adjoining land. This cluster of islands was the dwelling place of the Wamesits, and here Gookin and Eliot came in 1640, and at other times,—the first to administer justice in the Civil Court, and the second to give instruction in, and proclaim the blessings of, Christianity. This territory was also a part of the grant of three thousand acres made to Margaret, wife of Gov. John Winthrop, by the General Court of Massachusetts, at about the same time. May 4, 1821, Moses Tyler, Jr., of Dunstable, N. H., and George Tyler, of Tewksbury, for the consideration of \$2,800, sold the entire island territory—ten acres—"together with the mill and fish privileges in said river against the same," to Thomas Hurd, and gave a warranty deed; and the same day Joseph Tyler and Moses Tyler, of Tewksbury, gave to Mr. Hurd a quitclaim deed, for a nominal consideration, of the same premises.

11. Fishway for the passage of shad and other migratory fish. This way was kept open during the shad season; but when the flow of water began to decrease it was closed, and the young shad and other fish might return as best they could.

12. The old dam, substantially as now standing.

13. The "Hurd Mill" (which was erected in 1813), as it was called after being sold to him by Messrs. Whiting & Fletcher in

1818. This mill, of wood, was burned in June, 1826, and was the first fire in the town after its incorporation, March 1, 1826. The breast wheel, which was used as a medium of power, was not destroyed. By some unknown cause it was put in motion and thus saved. A larger mill was immediately erected, and the old wheel continued in service, until, for some reason, the machinery was removed, and the building was occupied by Messrs. Brooks & Fiske (who moved from No. 19 and added to their other business a saw-mill), and other persons in the wood-working line. The old wheel was still continued in its "revolutionary" movements until the spring of 1846, when all the occupants departed to newly-erected buildings, now known as the Mechanics' Mills; immediately after which the old mill was taken down (for the second time) and removed to become a part of "Whipple's Mills," where it now stands. The Middlesex Company immediately erected, upon the old site, the brick structure, Mill No. 3, which now stands. Desirous of ascertaining the fate of this venerable wheel,* I addressed a letter of enquiry to O. H. Perry, Esq., the agent of the Middlesex Mills, at Lowell, and received the following reply :

LOWELL, MASS., July 13th, 1887.

A. B. WRIGHT, Esq., Boston :

Dear Sir,—Your enquiry concerning the old "breast wheel" formerly in the Hurd Mill on Concord River, is received. The only information which I can give you in relation to it, is that some four years ago, while excavating in our yard for the foundation of a building, the remains of a breast wheel was found buried up in the ground. It excited considerable speculation as to what it was, and Col. Jeff. Bancroft, the Deputy Sheriff, happened in and took a look at it, and pronounced it to be the old wheel which was in the Hurd Mill when it was burned; and although it may have done service after the mill was burned, the probabilities are that when our present No. 3 Mill on Concord River was built, the old wheel was given a decent burial for the good service it had performed so many years. I can give you no further information in regard to it. The wood work and iron fastenings in connection, were in excellent preservation and it required considerable hard work to break it up. No. 3 Mill was built in 1846.

Yours truly,

O. H. PERRY.

The day following that upon which goods were commenced to be made in this mill, the *Lowell Courier* is authority for this statement, in substance, to wit : That last evening Samuel Lawrence, Esq.,

* Orlando Saunders, assistant superintendent of the Middlesex Company, has a cane which was made from the wood of this old breast wheel

the agent of the Middlesex Mills appeared in public wearing a suit of clothes (made, I think, by Burbank & Chase, tailors) which on the morning of that day were wool in its natural state; it having been carded, spun, and wove into cloth in the new mill, on Concord River, and made up in the short space of a single working day.

14. Fish-house, reserved in the sale made by Whiting & Fletcher to Thomas Hurd, in 1821.

15. Brick mill erected by Thomas Hurd, probably immediately after the purchase of the land from Whiting & Fletcher, in 1821. This mill was three stories high, and surmounted by a roof in two parts,—there being between the parts a continual line of low windows the entire length of the building. All of the early-built mills in Lowell were constructed in this way as respects the roof. This mill was not burned, as quoted from Bishop in Mr. Gilman's history of Lowell, as published in a recent history of the towns in Middlesex County, but was subsequently enlarged, then, in 1862, demolished, and a much larger mill erected in the same location.

16. This was a canal, constructed by Mr. Hurd to conduct water from Concord River to the old brick mill.

17. A portion of Warren Street as it now runs.

18. In 1826 Mr. Hurd constructed a small canal to increase his supply of water for his mills. It commenced at the termination of the Hamilton Canal, at the entrance-gate of the Hamilton Print Works, and running under Jackson and Central Streets by an aqueduct constructed of wood, it came to the surface in the rear of the buildings upon the east side of Central Street, about midway between Hurd and William Streets, and was continued in a direct line between earth embankments to George Street (No. 21), where it dipped, and going under the street, it continued by a sharp decline of fifteen feet or more, going under Warren Street, into the canal (No. 16). The contract for the use of this water was dated June 23, 1826, wherein the Locks and Canals stipulated to sell to Thomas Hurd twenty-five cubic feet of water per second, under a head of thirty feet, for the consideration of an annual rent of thirty-two ounces and twenty grains of gold, Troy weight, or four hundred and sixty-eight ounces, Troy weight, of silver. Water to be taken at the end of a feeding canal on a level with the Swamp Locks, being the end of the Hamilton Canal. In 1830 a Central-Street fancy goods dealer, and in 1833 a Merrimack-Street dry goods dealer, committed suicide by drowning in this canal. Three persons in Mr. Hurd's employ in 1826 yet survive, to wit: Col. Jefferson Bancroft, Edward B. Howe and Mrs. Munroe Moore. There may be others.

19, 20. About 1834 there was erected upon the grounds of the Middlesex Company—but outside of the factory yard—a building represented by these two numbers. Perhaps the parts were erected at different times; but for the purpose of explaining the numbers, they shall be taken together. This building was constructed of wood, being two stories high. The lower part of No. 19 was occupied by Artemas L. Brooks, as a planing mill, and the upper portion by William Fiske, a master carpenter. These two gentlemen (but whether then or subsequent I am not certain) formed a co-partnership which continued some years. The planing mill was the first of its kind established in Lowell. No. 20 was occupied by Messrs. White & Puffer, card manufacturers, who subsequently, about 1839, vacated this part and removed to Market Street. Joseph Tapley, Esq., succeeded Messrs. White & Puffer in the occupation of this portion of the building, and while it was in process of preparation for him, to be used as a grist-mill, the Hon. Luther Lawrence, who had just entered upon his second term of office, as mayor of Lowell, in going to his house at the noon hour in company with a friend from Boston, and passing by this place, for some reason entered the open door of this building, and by some unaccountable means fell head foremost into the open wheel-pit, fifteen feet or more deep, near the door, and was instantly killed by coming in contact with the iron wheel which a short time before had been let down to its place. While Mr. Brooks was in occupation of No. 19, a small boy came into the planing mill, and crawling under the planing machine for shavings, came in contact with the under planing knives, which cut off the upper portion of his head, causing instant death.

No. 21. George Street.

No. 22. Hurd Street.

No. 23. This was a subterranean canal constructed in 1832, for the purpose of conducting water to Nos. 19 and 20, going under Warren Street; and when, a year or so later, it was put into practical use, No. 18 was abandoned. This canal, also, was abandoned a few years ago. When this canal was constructed, a brook, of no inconsiderable size, was let into it at its junction with Warren Street. This brook had its source in Chelmsford Street, near Wilson's Lane, and running easterly, it passed through the pond on the South Common to Summer Street, thence through Charles Street nearly to Central, thence to Tyler Street, going to the lane leading by the house of Isaac Farrington, thence under Church, Green and William Streets, under the Universalist Church and Hurd Street, to the rear

of St. Paul's Church, and into the canal as before mentioned. Some years later a large stone sewer was constructed in Charles Street, and the course of this brook was diverted into it, and its waters conducted to Concord River.

24. This is the place last used by the First Baptist Church for baptising purposes, before the construction of a baptistery in the church, in 1847. February 28, 1826, the Rev. G. F. Davis, then supplying the pulpit of the First Baptist Church, baptised in Concord River, a few rods above the Colburn School house, Lewis Fiske, Sally Reed, Betsy Elliott and Nancy Prescott. These were the first converts after the church was organized twenty days before. The church continued to use this place for about fourteen years, when the land was sold; after which, for about five years, they baptised at the bridge (south side) on Church Street; then after that, at the place first before stated.

25. This represents Livermore's Hall, in the position in which it was erected, and its connection with the Gedney house.

26. This is the location of the dwelling of Judge Livermore, erected in 1824 or 1825, and where he resided at his decease, September 15, 1832.

27. East Merrimack Street.

28. High Street.

29. Howe's flannel mill in 1826.

30. This was evidently and clearly an island by itself, the single line showing about the course of the narrow channel, at the head of which a dam still exists, and the tail-race also of the flannel mill runs into it.

The small object, not numbered, on the large island, was a fish-house, and stood there in 1826.

The small island, near No. 24, removed ten or fifteen years ago.

TITLE NOTES OF THE ISLAND TERRITORY.

In 1641, granted by the General Court to Margaret Winthrop (wife of Gov. Winthrop) three thousand acres; February 12, 1691, Adam Winthrop, grandson of Margaret, to Samuel Hunt, carpenter, one-fifth, undivided, of the three thousand acres; September 8, 1737, Joseph Hunt, a descendent from Samuel, to Nicholas

Sprake, forty acres; August 11, 1753, Nicholas Sprake to George Mears. Sparke subsequently recovered this estate under a mortgage from Mears. February 15, 1769, the three sons of Nicholas Sprake to Timothy Brown; (Brown built the Gedney house on another parcel adjoining, which he bought in 1763.) September 29, 1785, Timothy Brown to George Searle and Joseph Tyler, the island territory only. September 2, 1805, John T. Tyler mortgaged the same estate. As to where he got his title is uncertain. May 4, 1821, Moses Tyler, Jr., George Tyler, Joseph Tyler and Moses Tyler to Thomas Hurd; May, 1821, Thomas Hurd to Winthrop Howe, the entire estate, but limiting the amount of water to be used.

I N D E X .

- Abbott, Abiel, 165
 Edward G., 135
 Henry L., 134
 James C., 268
 Josiah G., 316, 319
 Mrs., 369
 J. W. P., 262
 Abert, Col. ———, 341
 Abie, Thomas, 33
 Adams, Asa, 165
 Benj., 266
 Chas. F., 290
 Horace J., 266, 267
 Jonathan, 165
 Joel, 266
 John, 278
 John R., 87
 Julius W., 334
 J. W., 362
 J. Q., 374
 Rev. G. W., 175
 Addington, Ann, 107
 Isaac, 107
 Aiken, Charles A., 131
 John, 13
 J. C., 180
 Rev. Silas, 175
 Allen, Dr. Nathan, 30, 145, 422
 Paper on Population of Lowell,
 by, 20-24
 Geo. B., 268
 Horatio, 362
 Ames, ———, 167
 Jonathan, 213
 Oak, 417
 Seth, 87, 201, 261, 379
 Anderson, W. H., 267
 Andrews, Elizabeth, 10
 Elizabeth A., 10
 Isaac, 10
 Anthony, Isaac, 165
 Appleton, Charles T., 261
 Eben, 202
 Ebenezer, 261, 262
 Nathan, 39, 194, 195
 Samuel, 199
 William, 197, 201, 290, 378
 Atherton, Abel T., 7
 Charles, 7
 Atkinson, J. V., 166
 Austin, Wm., 261
 Avery, John, 379
 Ayer, Daniel, 245
 Frederick, 259, 404
 James C., 131, 231, 267, 268, 314
 James H. B., 161, 163, 165, 166, 316
 James, 165
 Babb, Capt. ———, 107
 Bacon, Wm., 165
 Bacheider, Sam., 165
 Sketch of, 187-211
 & Brown, 200, 259
 Sam., Sr., 187
 Badger, Rev. Milton, 173
 Bagnall, Rev. W. R., 33, 57, 187
 Bailey, Mary, 167
 Balch, Daniel, 165, 166
 Balcom, Jonas, 161, 164, 165
 Lucy B., 167
 Lucinda, 167
 Lovey, 167
 Stephen W., 165
 Ballard, John O., 377
 Baldwin, Cyrus, 161
 James, 193
 Loammi, Jr., 280
 Loammi, 275
 Sarah, 394
 Ball, Abner, 161, 165, 379
 Bank, Appleton, 264, 265
 City, 263, 264
 First National, 268
 Lowell, 258-261
 Manufacturers, 268
 Merchants, 267, 268
 Prescott, 265, 266
 Railroad, 261-263
 Wamesit, 266
 Banks, Discount, in Lowell, History of,
 258-269
 Baneroff, Geo., 222
 Jefferson, 164, 431
 Barton, Betsy, 395
 Bartlett, Homer, Sketch of, 394-401
 David, 395
 Children of, 395
 Ebenezer, 395
 Children of, 395
 Ebenezer 2d, 395
 Children of, 395
 Ebenezer 3d, 395
 Children of, 395
 Robert, 394
 Children of, 394
 Samuel, 394
 Children of, 394, 395
 Geo. H., 266
 William, 35, 61
 Dr. Elisha, 42, 43, 147
 School house, 120
 Barber, Horace, 166
 Barr, Cummings, 165
 Barrett, Charles, 200
 Charles N., 200
 John, Jr., 166
 ———, 275
 Barker, Horace R., 267
 Baker, Cushing, 165
 Barron's Hotel, 413
 Barrows, Rev. Dr., 176, 185
 Barnard, Rev. Dr., 218
 Bassett, Enoch, 165
 Battles, F. F., 17, 135, 262
 Baury, Rev. Alfred, 163
 Bayle, Rev. Isaac, 162
 Beard, Ithamar A., 379
 Bedlow, Joseph, 267
 Beethoven Musical Society, 163
 Members of, 166, 167
 Bell, Ayers, 50
 Bishop, 50
 Citizen, 49
 Eliza, 374

- Bell, Founder, 50
 Historic, 49
 Hovey, 49
 John, 5
 John T., 374
 Mary, 383
 Musician, 49
 Ole Bull, 40
 Parish, 49
 Rector, 50
 Sam'l, 373
 Bells, Dedication of St. Anne's Chime of, 47-56
 Bellingham, Richard, 102
 Bent, Wm. H., 259
 Bennett, Joshua, 259, 260
 J. W., 267
 Wm. S., 265
 Bentley, Rev. Dr., 218
 Billings, Thomas, 423
 Blake, Chas. F., 316
 Blood, Orford R., 255
 Capt. Coburn, 253, 255
 Blodgett, Orlando, 1
 Judge, 299
 Blaisdell, Daniel, 8, 9, 166
 Sally, 167
 Blanchard, D. D., Rev. Amos, 378
 Sketch of, 169-186
 Amos., Sr., 170
 Elizabeth (Jenkins), 170
 C. F., 236
 Boardman, Thomas, 37, 38, 63
 Bodge, Rev. George M., 107
 Bonney, Arthur P., 267, 268
 Bond, Charlotte J., Mrs., 11
 Boott, Kirk, 69, 80, 161, 195, 229, 233, 234, 252, 259, 261, 262, 310, 311, 408, 422
 Paper on, 325-33
 Borden, Thomas, 165
 Bouttattz, John, 361
 Boston, Man'f Co., 69
 Bouton, John, 374
 Bower, James R., 165
 Elizabeth, 167
 Bowers, James, 231
 Jonathan, 231
 Bowers, Mr. ———, 7
 Bowen, Daniel, 421
 Boyden, Mr. ———, 254
 Bradbury, ———, 203
 Bradbury, George B., 165
 Bradt, Garrett J., 259
 Brabrook, Joseph A., 266
 Bragdon, George, 259, 264
 Bradley, Joseph, 413
 Bradstow, Addison, 421
 Brigham, Sydney, 165
 Bridge, Central, 408
 Joseph, 165
 Brinley, Francis, 87
 Bright, John, 165
 Brown, Dr. Abner H., 116, 117, 124, 131
 Abijah, 410
 A. R., 266
 Benj. P., 166
 Edward, 165
 Ephraim, 30, 268
 Eliphalet, 165
 Eleazer, 193, 200
 Frank, 315
 James S., 58
 Joseph S., 269
 Maj. T. S., 359, 369
 Philemon, 165
 Sylvanus, 58
 Sam'l J., 165
 Stephen, 165
 S. A., 316
 Brown, Seth B., 165
 W. A. B., 259
 Brownell, Geo., 163, 261
 Thomas, 165
 Brooks, Gov. John, 2, 227, 275, 276
 Artemas, L., 266
 Artemas, 432
 Peter C., 278, 284
 & Fiske, 430
 Brunel, Mark I., 190
 Buck, Dr. Ephraim, 227
 Budlong, Thomas, 165
 Bullard, Silas, 200
 Bunce, Elisha, 165
 James, 165
 Burbank, Levi S., 129
 Jonathan, 165
 Samuel, 266
 & Chase, 431
 Burdick, Susan E., 128
 Burke, Wm. A., 262, 319, 321
 Burns, Robert, First Celebration in Lowell, 42-46
 Bunker Hill Tavern, 283
 Burnap, Rev. U. C., 175
 Burrill, Elizabeth, 167
 Bushwell, Joseph P., 165
 Butler, Gen. B. F., 123, 124, 131, 316, 319, 365, 416, 422
 School House, 419
 Bultrick, Abner W., 264
 Alden B., 265
 John H., 267
 John A., 17
 Butcher, Robert H., 266
 Butterfield, Benjamin, 6
 John, 259
 Reuben, 425
 Cabot, Henry, 261
 Cadwell, Gen. John C., 133
 Canal, Middlesex, History of, 273-308
 Cartwright, Charles W., 203, 207
 Carleton, Amos, 165
 George H., 259, 316, 322
 Henry, 165
 William, 165
 Carr, Perley, 165
 Mary E., 167
 Carney, James G., 13, 259, 260
 Medals, 139
 Carpet Corporation, 42
 Carter's Hotel, 421
 Cary, William F., 222
 Case, Eliphalet, 42, 44
 Cemetery, Lowell, Exercises at Consecration of, 180
 Central Bridge, 408
 Chadwick, Ebenezer, 261, 290
 Chelmsford Phoenix, 78
 Child, Linus, 261
 Cheney, John L., 266
 Chandler, James, 166
 Mary, 167
 Churchill, Thomas W., 165, 166
 Sam. S., 165
 Church, Dr. J. H., Rev., 172, 173
 Channing, Dr. Walter, 227
 William F., 128
 Challis, Hezekiah, 35
 Charities, Organized, History of, 13-19
 Chase, C. C., 113, 166, 365
 Charles A., 143
 John, 166
 John K., 266
 Walter, 166
 Choate, Rufus, 316
 Chambré, Rev. A. St. John, D. D., 321
 Address by, 381-393

- Chapin, Elizabeth, 395
 City Dispensary, 14
 Hotel, 409
 Clement, Rufus, 266
 Clark, Rev. —, 175
 John, 13
 Rev. Thomas M., D. D., 85, 117, 122,
 123, 124, 318
 Thomas, 165
 Cleavland, Nehemiah, 126
 Cobb, Jonathan H., 222
 Coburn, A. A., 267
 Cyril, 165
 Charles B., 266, 406, 426
 Frank F., 130
 Franklin, 426
 Henry, 426
 Horace B., 374
 John P., 251
 Samuel A., 379
 Stephen A., 426
 Warren, 379, 406
 Cocheeo Manufacturing Co., 196
 Cogswell, —, 288
 Coggin, Rev. Jacob, 173
 Conant, George F., 164
 George, 165
 Colburn, Warren, 69, 80, 162, 165
 Colton, John J., 129
 Collier, Richard, 249
 Cook, Charles, 166
 Albert G., 259, 322
 Coolidge, Joseph, 222, 286
 Joseph P., 280
 O. B., 244
 Concert Hall, 120
 Costello, Thomas, 269
 Cowles, John, Jr., 394
 Cowley, Charles, 25, 26, 148, 243
 Crane, Alanson, 43, 426
 Craigie, Andrew, 275, 278
 Craven, A. W., 362
 Crosby, Josiah, 172, 259
 Nathan, 213
 Crittenden, Gov., 9
 Crowninshield, F. B., 316
 Cumnock, A. G., 262
 Cummiskey, Hugh, 258
 Currier, Moody, 125
 Louisa, 167
 Nathaniel, 166
 Cushing, O. E., 51
 Daniel, 259
 Leonard, 161, 165, 166
 Stephen, 165, 259
 Cutler, Rev. —, 164
 —, 203

 Dana, Dr. Samuel L., 14, 259, 289
 James, 206
 David, 261
 Dame, Lorin L., 273, 290
 Dane, Osgood, 403
 Dalton, Richard, 165
 Dr. John C., 124, 131, 379
 Daniels, Joshua M., 268
 Davidson, William, 172, 406
 Davis, John, 259, 260
 Mrs. Eliza C., 321
 Elisha, 419
 Rev. G. F., 433
 Nathan, 165
 Day, Horace H., 248
 Dempsey, Patrick, 269
 Dexter, Franklin, 285
 Delano, Deborah, 361
 Thomas, 361
 Dean, Benj., 131
 DeGerstner, Chevalier, 350, 351

 Dedication of St. Anne's Chime of Bells,
 47-56
 Derby, James, 165
 Pardon, 166
 Destrem, Gen., 357
 Dispensary, City, 14
 Lowell, 13, 14
 Dibbles, Mr., 264
 Dill, Abigail, 167
 Dodge, Thomas, 161, 165
 Dover Manufacturing Co., 196
 Doe, Bradstreet, 165
 Donovan, John A., 131
 Donohoe, Gen. Michael T., 133
 Dow, John, 368
 Draper, Caroline Rodgers, 176
 Drown, Peter, 166
 Ducachet, Rev. Henry, 162, 318
 Durkee, Wm. H. H., 255
 Durant, Peter, 166
 Dummer, Gov. William, 60
 John, 161, 165
 Academy, 60
 Duganne, Rev. H. C., 15, 120
 Durrell, William T., 267
 Dwinell, Richard W., 166

 Eames, L. J., 267
 Eastburn, Bishop Manton, 56
 Eastman, Alice, 374
 Luke, 45
 Mary F., 129
 Eaton, Rev. Asa, 162
 Phillip, 165
 Eaton, Charles W., 268
 Edwards, Rev. Dr., 222, 223
 —, 425
 Eddy, Caleb, 283, 285, 289, 290
 Edson, Rev. Theodore, S. T. D., Resolutions
 on the Death of, 25-32
 Bibliography, 28, 29
 Rev. Theodore, S. T. D., 47, 69, 124,
 125, 161, 162, 164, 179, 238, 310, 311,
 314, 316, 320, 322
 Mrs. Theodore, 251
 Edes, Edward H., 165
 Elliot, Hazen, 165
 George M., 78
 Betsy, 433
 Eliot, Rev. John, Sketch of, 90-111, 429
 Ely, Joseph H., 267, 269
 Emerson, Rev. Dr., 218
 George B., 222
 Thomas, Jr., 244
 Everett, Alexander H., 188
 Hon. Edward, 13, 70, 95, 240

 Fay, Dennis, 316
 Lucinda, 371
 Samuel, 262
 Faulkner, Luther W., 259
 Farrar, Franklin, 165
 Judge Timothy, 198
 Favor, Miriam, 167
 Farrington, Daniel, 165
 Isaac, 264
 D. W. C., 265, 267
 Farnsworth, —, 130
 Fales, —, 203
 Ferguson, David, 165
 Fellows, J. K., 29, 268, 412
 Fiske, Lewis, 165
 Sewell, 166
 First Congregational Church, 171
 Fitz, Jeremiah, 165
 Fisher, Albigenec W., 165
 Rev. Mr. —, 104, 185
 William B., 166
 Lewis, 433

- Flint, Charles F., 266
 Fletcher, J. M., 143
 William, 426
 Ford, Elisha, 1, 231
 Capt. Elisha, 253, 254
 Capt. John, 1, 231
 Folsom, Jonathan P., 259
 Follansbee, Abigail W., 167
 Fox, Gustavus N., 123, 131, 134
 Jesse, 13, 172
 Joel, 164
 James, 164
 Rufus H., 165
 Forbes, Franklin, 125, 126, 143
 Foster, Rev. Edmond, 2
 Nathaniel, Jr., 165
 Francis, James B., 252, 262, 271, 272, 319,
 325, 334
 Freshets, Great, in Merrimack River, 252-
 257
 Freshet, The, of 1831, 270-272
 French, Amos B., 124, 269
 Alexander, 166
 Abram, 266
 Benjamin F., 261
 Cyril, 165, 259, 316
 Josiah B., 259, 264, 265, 415
 Loring, 166
 Frecham, Samuel, 165
 Freake, John, 107
 Frothingham, Rev. Dr., 219
 Frye, John F., 419
 & Abbott, 419
 Frye's Tavern, 423
 Fuller, Elisha, 87
 Eliza, 167
 John J., 165
 Perez, 43, 45, 120
 Susan, 167

 Gage, Daniel, 266
 Gale, Benjamin, 165
 Stephen, 165
 Garfield, James A., President, 417
 Gardiner, Rev. John J., 162
 Gardner, Dr. —, 227
 Gates, Elihu, 166
 Josiah, 43, 266
 Prescott C., 267
 Gedney, House, 433
 Estate, 368
 Philip, 369
 Gerrish, Benajah, 165
 Gerritt, John, 165
 Gile, Master, 115
 Gilman, Alfred, 30, 33, 90, 270, 369, 423, 426, 431
 Mark S., 270
 Gillis, George, 165
 Jotham, 304, 305
 Nancy, 305
 Gleig, Rev. George R., 325-327
 Glidden, Elisha, 87, 261, 377, 379
 Goldie, Charles, 42
 Goodyear, Charles, 247, 248, 249
 Gookin, —, 35, 429
 & Shores, 36
 Major, 92, 93, 94, 110
 Goodwin, Nathaniel, 161, 164, 166
 William, 166
 Gordon, Benajah B., 165
 Gore, —, 275
 Gould, N. D., 163, 164
 Jonathan, 165
 Isaac, 165
 Gorham, Dr. John, 227
 Graves, John W., 264
 Graham, Gen. —, 329
 Gray, William, Jr., 62
 Greenleaf, Mary, 167

 Grant, Mrs. —, 371
 Gen. U. S., 381
 Peter, 107
 Green, Dr. John O., 30-32, 47, 259, 260, 268,
 316, 319, 321, 378, 404, 408
 Address by, 73-89, 147, 159, 164
 Annual Report, 212-215
 Autobiography of, 217-242
 Rev. Aaron, 217
 Charles, 165
 Ezra, 220
 George S., 334
 James D., 220, 222
 Greenwood, Thomas, Jr., 165
 Greenhalge, F. T., 131, 143, 374
 Griswold, Rt.-Rev. Alexander V., 162, 167,
 311
 Albert, 166

 Haggett, Frank P., 262
 Hale, Moses, 35, 38, 192, 416, 419
 Chief Justice, 238
 Nathan, 188, 190
 Hale's Mill, 419
 Hallett, George, 286
 Hall, Ebenezer, 278
 Dudley, 278
 Joseph, 280
 Seth B., 267
 William, 125, 134
 Haley, Ned., 416
 Hamilton Manufacturing Co., 198
 Hamblet, David, 165
 Hancock, John, 275
 Hanks, Rev. S. W., 116, 175, 401
 Harrison, James, 47, 56
 —, 130
 Hart, Samuel, 222
 Hastings, Edward, 371
 Hatch, Erasmus, 166
 Haven, Samuel F., 87
 Hawes, William S., 166
 Hawkins, John, 100
 Haynes, Joseph, 165
 Amos, 165
 Hayward, Almira, 167
 Nathaniel, 246, 247, 248, 249
 Rebecca, 167
 & Humphrey, 248
 Hayes, A. A., 289
 Hazelton, Samuel, 166
 Hazard, E. H., 335
 Hazen, Rev. Henry A., 85
 Heathcote, Charles, 164
 Hedge, Prof. —, 224
 Hedrick, George, 51
 Henchman, Lieut., 97
 High School, Reminiscences of, 113-144
 Hildreth, Asa, 267
 Fisher A., 371
 Henry, 259
 Jeremiah, 165
 Hill, Isaac, 4, 9
 Paul, 166, 403,
 David, 403
 Hills, Richard, 161, 164
 Eliphalet, 268
 Hinkley, Isaac, 239
 Hitchcock, Mr., 47
 Hixon, Lloyd W., 129
 Hoar, —, 236
 E. R., 239
 Samuel, 285
 Hobbs, Francis, 401
 Hodgkins, John, 100, 104
 Holton, Jesse, 189, 193
 Holden, Thomas, 42, 44
 Artemas, 404
 Home, Old Ladies', 14

- Home, Young Women's, 15
Hooke, Henry M., 269
Hooker, Thomas, 90
Hopkinson, Thomas, 13, 378
Hoppin, D. D., Rev. N., 85, 125, 143
Horn, Samuel, 267
 & Allen, 421
Hosford, Hocum, 267
Hosmer, Dr., 220
Hospital, St. John's, 15, 412
Hovey, Charles, 13, 17, 258, 263, 309, 316
 James S., 262
 P. B., 241
Howe, Edward B., 431
 Henry C., 266, 267
 Winthrop, 409, 434
Howe's Hotel, 410
Howard Benevolent Society, 14
 Horace, 266, 267
 James, 165
Hoyt, E. W., 266
 Jacob, 165
Hubbell, Mrs. L. F., 400
Huntington, D. D., Rev. William R., 143
 Dr. Elisha, 166, 236, 316
Hunting, Mr. —, 410
Hunt, Eben, 416
 Elihu S., 322
 George F., 268
 Joseph, 433
 Samuel, 433
 Thomas, 434
Hussey, James, 262
Huse, H. H., 131
Hutchinson, Levi, 165
Hurd, Thomas, 229, 234, 259, 429, 431
 Mill, 430
Hughes, Charles, 189
Hyde, David, 260
- India Rubber Manufacture, Experiments
 in, 243-251
- Ingham, W. A., 266
- Jackson, Patrick T., 39, 195, 196, 197, 314
 Rev. S. C., 172, 173, 175
 President, 246
 Dr. Charles T., 289
- Jameson, Hugh, 11
Jaquith, Jonathan, 166
Jarvis, Rev. Dr., 162
Jenkins, Rev. J. L., 51
Jemess, Dr. —, 425
Jewett, Andrew F., 259
 John, 165, 166
 Jeremiah P., 259
- Jones, Asa, 165
 Joseph, 166
 Richmond, 166
 S. & W., 277
- Johnson, James, 206
 Walter W., 268
 Thomas, 65
- Kelly, Daniel, 166
Kelley, Jacob, 266
 William, 267
 John, 143
- Kendrick, Anna, 10
 Benjamin, 10
 Samuel, 36
 & Worthen, 62
- Kent, Jacob, 39, 64
Kidder, Samuel, Jr., 267
 Samuel P., 305
- King, Charles F., 143
 James M., 164
 Samuel B., 165
- Kingsley, Rhodolpha, 166
- Kimball, David, 165
 Gilman, 147, 268
 John, 415
 John F., 265, 415
 Jonathan, 128, 143, 166, 414
 Nathan, 414
 Thomas, 103
- Kirkwood, Mr., 362
- Kittredge, Abner, 213
 Joseph G., 410
 Joseph, 165
 William, 267, 410
- Kleinmichel, Count, 353
- Knowles, John A., 264, 265
 Sketch of, 375-380
- Krofft, Col., 352, 357
- Lamb, William, 165
- Lamson, William S., 268
- Langdon, Gov. —, 5
- Lancaster, Samuel T., 267
- Latham, C. H., 267
- Lawson, T. B., 30
 Peter, 42
- Lawton, —, 131
- Lawrence, George N., 165
 Amos, 241
 William, 261
 Luther, 87, 261, 432
 Abbott, 290
 A. A., 290
- Lee, John, 62
 William R., 334
- Leeds, Rev. George, D. D., 86
- Leighton, Isaiah, 165
- Lennon, John, 268
- Lewis, Dr. Winslow, 229
 Joel, 80
- Libby, George F., 213
- Livermore, Edward St. Loe, 87, 165, 412
 Edward St. Loe, Jr., 165
 Luther, 87
 Elizabeth, 78
 Judge, 413, 433
- Livermore's Hall, 412
- Livingston, Richard, 394
 William E., 265
- Locke, Joseph, 87, 263, 378, 379
- Locks and Canal Co., 58
- Long, Lieut.-Col., 342
- Lord, Edwin H., 130
- Lovejoy, Lucy, 167
- Low, George W., 43
 Samuel, 165
- Lowell, Organized Charities in, 13-19
 Dispensary, 13, 14
 Health of, 145-158
 Missionary Society, 15, 19
 Journal, 78, 407, 422
 Evangelist, 422
 Courier, 430
 Population of, 20-24
 Machine Shop, 58
 Francis C., 64, 66, 67, 68, 80, 417
 in 1826, 402-433
- Lund, Jonathan, 252
- Lyman, Martha, 395
- Lyon, Sarah, 167
 Catherine, 167
- Mack, Sewall G., 262
- Magoon, Rev. E. L., D. D., 86
- Mann, Samuel, 43, 87
 Horace, 118
- Mansur, Aaron, 165, 374, 409
 Harriet, 374
 & Reed, 421, 422
- Mansion House, 42
- Mansfield, Rev. Francis, 143

- Manning, George, 107
 Rev. Dr., 400
 Manahan, Mark, 408
 Marshall, Avery, 425
 Hezekiah, 425
 Joshua N., 267
 Luther, 425
 Mason, Jeremiah, 285, 290
 Rev. William, 224, 225
 William, 165
 William D., 166
 Mather, Cotton, 59, 96
 Richard, 91
 William K., 166
 Mandesly, Henry, 107
 Mayo, Thomas, 166
 McAusten, Alfred, 166
 McDaniels, —, 130, 131
 Walter H., 371
 McEvoy, John F., 143
 McFarlin, Archibald, 231, 232, 236
 McKeen, Daniel, 368
 McNeil, John, 10, 11
 Solomon, 11
 McNeill, Anna Matilda, 361
 Dr. Charles D., 361
 Capt. G. W., 342, 343, 345, 347
 Mead, John, 420
 Meadowcroft, Mr. —, 418
 Means, Robert, 5, 261
 Russell, 234
 Mears, George, 434
 Melvin, Darius, 166
 Menlikoff, Col., 352
 Merrill, Joshua, 1
 Rev. Joseph, 173, 175
 Joseph, 165, 166
 J. C., 166
 Nancy, 11
 Merrimack Journal, 78
 Manufacturing Co., 39, 58, 69, 162
 Religious Society, 161, 162
 School House, 161
 Metcalf, Theron, 377
 —, 130
 Middlesex Canal, History of, 270-308
 Miles, Rev. H. A., D. D., 85, 179, 180
 Clough R., 222
 Miner, Rev. A. A., D. D., 85, 116
 Ministry-at-Large, 15, 16, 18
 Mitchell, G., 166
 Thomas, 108
 Moody, Paul, 36, 37, 80, 166, 196, 199, 259, 261
 379, 407
 Sketch of, 57-72
 William, 59, 60
 Joshua, 59
 Samuel, 59, 60
 Samuel, 2d, 60
 Rev. Samuel, 59, 96
 David J., 166
 David, 61
 Sewall, 60
 Nathan, 60
 Capt. Paul, 60
 Moore, Marshall, 166
 John G., 304
 Thomas, 166
 Mrs. Munroe, 431
 Moors, Simeon, 418
 Morse, Building, 423
 Morse, Jonathan, 2d, 259
 Moses, Jr., 165
 Morrison, Thomas, 165
 William, 165
 Morey, —, 417
 Morrill, Adams, 166
 Calcb M., 166
 Ephraim, 37-39, 63
 Morrill, Ezekiel, 166
 Jonathan C., 63, 166, 405
 Mary, 166
 Nathaniel, 166
 Orlando, 166
 Susan, 62
 Moseley, Capt. Samuel, 90, 103
 Motley, Rev. D., 218
 George, 262
 Moulton, Calvin, 166
 Daniel, 165
 Oliver H., 267
 Nason, Seth, 189
 Rev. Elias, 85
 Nesmith, Eliza Bell, 374
 Harriet Bell, 374
 Henrietta W., 371,
 Isabel, 374
 James E., 374
 James, 365, 366
 Jacob, 367, 368
 John, 263, 264
 Sketch of, 365-374
 Joseph A., 374
 Lucy E., 371
 Maria Louisa, 371
 Thomas, 15, 16, 17, 19, 259, 371
 Thomas, Will of, 16-19
 Sketch of, 365-374
 Thomas, Jr., 17
 Newman, John, 166
 Newell, Thomas, 166
 Nichols, Albert F., 268
 Converse, 425
 Clarissa, 167
 Charles, 166
 Daniel, 165
 Hiram, 166
 Jacob, 259
 John, 166
 Rufus, 165, 166
 & Fletcher, 421
 Noble, Daniel, 397
 North, William L., 265
 Nourse, David, 165
 Noyes, Benjamin A., 213
 Oliver, Nathan, 166
 Samuel, 166
 Ordway, H. M., 42
 John L., 260
 Samuel, 63
 William, 37, 63
 Orphanage, St. Mary's, 15
 St. Peter's, 15
 Osgood, George C., 213
 Rev. Dr., 218, 220
 Mr. —, 418
 Owen, Mr. —, 411
 Packard, Rev. Dr., 180
 Paige, Charles E., 267
 Parham, John, 253
 Parkhurst, Joel, 165
 Joel 2d, 165
 Matthias, 165, 420
 Parker, Benjamin, 165
 Daniel, 165
 Edmund, 11
 Fredrick, 116
 Jephtha, 426
 Joel, 316
 Mrs., 7
 Nathaniel, 165
 Rev. Dr. Samuel, 251
 William H., 269
 & Palmer, 303
 Parsons, Theophilus, 60

- Parmenter, Horace, 213
 Passaconaway, Sketch of, 89-101
 Patch, E. B., 425
 Patterson, Dr. David N., 169
 Paul, Rufus, 166
 Payson, Phillips, 280
 Payne, James, 86
 Peabody, J. G., 164
 Amasa, 165
 Pearson, Phineas, 165
 Rev. Eliphalet, 60
 Peasley, Aaron M., 165
 Penniman, George F., 259
 Penhallow, Lucy E., 128
 Perkins, Jacob, 61, 62, 64
 John, 165
 Solon A., 131
 Perley, E. K., 265
 Perry, Oliver H., 262, 430
 Perren, Daniel, 165
 Perham, P. P., 267
 Pettingell, Moses, 165
 Peturs, William, 34
 Phelps, Jesse, 166
 Philbrick, John, 166
 Pierce, Benjamin, Sketch of, 1-12
 Benjamin H., 8
 Benjamin K., 10
 Benjamin, Sr., 1
 Charlotte, 11
 Charles G., 11
 Franklin, 11
 Henry D., 11
 Harriet B., 11
 John Sullivan, 11
 John S., 8
 J. N., Jr., 268
 Mrs. —, 426
 Nancy M., 11
 Stephen, 10
 Pillsbury, Harlan, 259, 267
 John, 165
 John E., 166
 Samuel, 166
 Piper, Isaac, 213
 Place, Isaac, 265
 Pollock, Allan, 162, 164, 166
 Andrew, 166
 George B., 161, 164, 166
 Polson, David, 43
 Pomeroy, William H., 165
 Pope, Samuel, 261
 Porter, Rev. L., 180
 Jonathan, 275
 Pratt, Amasa, 268
 Prescott, Nathan, 165
 Naney, 433
 William, 60
 Prince, G. H., 335
 John D., 131, 407
 Proctor, —, 131
 William, 165
 Puffer, Morton, 165, 166
 Naney, 167
 Putnam, Addison, 265, 425
 Quiney, Josiah, 280
 Rafter, William, 165
 Ramsdell, George A., 306
 Ramsey, Nehemiah S., 166
 Rand, James H., 266
 Randlett, James, 65
 Read, Elijah M., 266
 Reed, Betsy, 167
 Harriet, 167
 Sally, 433
 Resolutions to the Memory of Rev. Theo-
 dore Edson, S. T. D., 25-32
 Reynolds, Dr. Edward, 228, 229
 Rice, Charles, 166
 Richardson, Alden B., 267
 Daniel, 259
 Daniel S., 128
 Dexter, 164, 166
 Ebenezer, 165
 George F., 17, 267
 Henry, 166
 J. A. G., 131
 William, 166
 William A., 265
 Richmond, Charles B., 265
 Riley, T. M., 167
 Ripley, George, 262
 Robbins, Jacob, 378, 422
 Nathan, 165, 166
 Robinson, James, 42
 John P., 43, 44, 261, 316, 379
 Russell, 166
 Robertson, George, 165
 Rodgers, Zadoc, 417
 Rogers, John, 166
 John F., 262
 Jacob, 262
 Ropes, Joseph, 335
 Rowell, Edward T., 259
 Rucker, Gen. D. H., 335
 Rumford, Count, 249, 250, 251
 Runels, George, 267
 Russell, James S., 130, 143, 316, 375, 394, 395
 James, 165, 259
 —, 275
 Salmon, Frank, 404
 Salisbury, Stephen, 222
 Sanderson, Daniel, 165
 Mr., 192, 193
 Sanford, Rev. D., 173
 Sargent, Benjamin C., 316
 Charles G., 266
 Sawyer, Annie B., 128
 Walter M., 268
 Schofield, Arthur, 35, 38, 61
 James, 38
 John, 35, 38, 61
 Scripture, Rev. James O., 130, 131
 Isaac, 420
 Scribner, Isaac, 266
 Scott, Gen., 11
 Searle, George, 434
 Sewall, Samuel E., 222
 Hon. Samuel, 60
 Shattuck, Daniel, 259
 George W., 401
 Horace B., 135
 John, 415
 Moses, 165, 407
 Sheafe, John L., 87
 Shedd, Freeman B., 265
 Shepard, Silas, 66, 67
 Luther, 415
 Sherman, Edward F., 124, 131, 143, 266
 Edward, 163, 166
 Timothy, 166
 Sherwin, Timothy, 165
 Shores, —, 35
 Sibley, Nathan, 166
 Sidell, William H., 362
 Simpson, Benjamin, 166
 Skinner, Deborah, 166
 Slater, Samuel, 58
 Sladen, Joseph A., 133
 Smith, Alpheus, 166
 Alexander, 165
 Dr. Foster, 361
 Henry, 166
 Jonathan, 165
 Jeremiah, 199

- Smith, Rev. John. D. D., 60
 Mary, 361
 Sydney, 217
 William, 165
 William B., 166
 Smyth, Prof., 185
 Snow, Dr. E. M., 155
 Society, Lowell Missionary, 15
 Southwick, John C., 131
 Royal, 43
 Spalding, Jonathan, 259
 Joel, 259
 Noah, 6
 Mrs., 7
 Sidney, 13, 266
 Weld, 165, 423
 Speneer, William, 43
 Spofford, John P., 166
 Sprague, Harvey, 166
 Sprake, Nicholas, 434
 Squires, James, 37
 Stanton, George F., 143
 St. Anne's Church, 47, 167, 407
 Consecration of, 159-168
 History of, 309-323
 Stark, George, 131
 Gen. George, 273
 Frederick G., 300, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308
 John, 300
 John M., 301
 Stearns, Dr. ———, 220
 Stebbins, John, 391
 Stephenson, George, 336
 Stevens, Adaline, 166
 Alpha, 165, 166
 Solon, 165, 166
 Sybil, 166
 Mr. ———, 426
 Stiekney, Samuel W., 17, 262
 St. John's Hospital, 413
 St. Mary's Church, 15
 Orphanage, 120
 Stoddard, Col., 3
 Storrow, Charles S., 334
 Stott, Charles A., 131, 266
 Charles, 414
 Stowell, Ebenezer, 66
 St. Patrick's Church, 405
 Straw, E. A., 131
 Richard, 165
 Stephen G., 165
 Street, Rev. Owen, D. D., 17, 178
 John, 408
 Lawrence, 417
 Strong, Hon. Caleb, 60
 Waitstill, 395
 St. Sabastian, Siege of, 327
 Stuart, Prof. M., 171, 173
 Sullivan, Gen., 4
 John, 11
 James, 274, 275, 276, 277, 284, 291
 William, 286
 Swan, Daniel, 267
 Joshua, 163, 165, 166, 261
 Samuel, 275
 Samuel, Jr., 280
 Sweetser, Theodore H., 131, 414
 Warren, 244
 Joseph, 165
 Swift, Dr. Foster, 339
 Capt. William H., 346, 362
 Talbot, C. P., 266
 Thomas, 266
 Tapley, Joseph, 422
 Taylor, Nathaniel W., 171
 Prof. John L., 174, 175, 185
 Robert, 420
 William, 43
 Tappan, Rev. David, 60
 Thatcher, Rev. Dr., 218
 Thayer, Rev. Thomas, D. D., 85
 Thompston, Daniel, 165
 Dr. ———, 227
 Hiram, 165
 Moody, 165
 Samuel, 276
 Thorp, John, 68
 Thouvenot, Gen. 332, 333
 Tilden, Charles L., 262
 David, 165
 Tileston & Whipple, 418
 Todd, Joshua, 219
 Townsend, Samuel S., 165
 Trask, Capt., 304
 Treadwell, Daniel, 208
 Tuck, Edward, 259, 260
 Tucke, Edward M., 259
 Tuckerman, Rev. Dr., 218
 Turner, Joshua, 165
 John, 394
 Tyler, Amos, 427
 A. S., 266
 George, 429
 Ignatius, 427
 James, 423, 427
 John, 427, 429
 John T., 429, 434
 Jonathan, 15, 16, 19, 165, 229, 263, 411
 Mrs., 6
 Joseph, 427, 429, 434
 Moses, 434
 Moses, Jr., 429
 Nathan, 408, 427
 Silas, 266
 Tyng, Jonathan, 101, 102, 110
 Rev. Stephen H., 222
 Vanderbilt, Capt. Jacob, 297
 Van Vronker, Henry, 420
 Varnum, Benjamin F., 259
 Joseph B., 259
 Vose, George L., 334
 Vox Populi, 422
 Waite, Aldis L., 1
 Wales, Thomas B., 347
 Walecott, Philemon, 304
 Robert F., 222
 Walker, Benjamin, 47, 135, 273, 403
 Dr. William J., 229
 Dr. ———, 227
 William, 259
 William W., 166
 Walden, Capt. ———, 224
 Major ———, 99, 103
 Wannalancet, Sketch of, 101-106
 Warren, P. W., 13, 261, 262
 House, 423
 Washington, Gen. George, 2
 House, 421
 Washburn, ———, 262
 Wathen, George, 33, 34
 Watten, Widdow, 33
 Watson, Moody, 166
 Waugh, Mrs. John, 43
 John, 259
 Webster, Daniel, 199, 285
 Ezekiel, 199
 Humphrey, 165
 Humphrey, Jr., 166
 John W., 289
 Thomas, 165
 William P., 316
 Webber, Almira, 167
 Samuel, 60
 Wellington, Martha, 167
 Wendall, Oliver, 278

- Wells, Hannah, 167
 ———, 236
 Wentworth, Tappan, 11, 87
 Mrs, 11
 Weston, Samuel, 276
 Wheelock, Andrew C., 266
 Wheeler, Jefferson, 166
 Albert, 266, 405
 Mr. ———, 406
 Whipple, Oliver M., 202, 259, 418
 Mills, 430
 Whistler, George W., Sketch of, 331-364
 Charles D., 367
 Deborah, 361
 Dr. Daniel, 337
 Dr. W. G. M., 335
 G. N., 335
 George W., Jr., 361
 Hugh, 337
 John, 337, 338, 339
 John B., 361
 Joseph S., 361
 James A., 361
 Kirk B., 361
 Ralph, 337
 Thomas D., 335
 William G., 361
 White, Fairfield, 165, 166
 & Puffer, 432
 Whittier, Ebenezer, 165
 Whiting, Capt. ———, 229, 233
 Phineas, 135, 231, 258, 259, 404
 & Fletcher, 430, 431
 Whitwell, Bond & Co., 196
 Whitney, Amos, 231, 232, 259
 Charles, 267
 David, 266
 Israel, 261
 Whittemore, Rev. B. F., 249
 Wigglesworth, Samuel, 37, 38, 62, 63
 Wilder, Charles H., 266
 Henry H., 265
 Willard, Rev. Joseph, D. D., 60
 Capt. ———, 91
 Wiley, George F., 130
 Williams, Charles M., 260
 Gorham D., 129
 Wilson, H., 218
 Mrs. Glaupe, 43
 Wilkinson, David, 58
 Winans, Harrison & Eastwick, 355, 356, 358,
 359
 Wineh, Francis, 165
 Winslow, George, 213
 John B., 335
 Rev. H. A., 173
 Winthrop, Adam, 433
 Gov. John, 90, 369, 429
 Grammar School, 125
 Margaret, 433
 Witt, Park, 165
 Woodbury, Levi, 11
 Wood, Ephraim, 166
 Rev. Horatio, 15, 18
 Samuel N., 420
 Woods, Alva, 222
 Woodworth, A. B., 259
 Woodward, Joseph, 400
 Wordell, Capt. ———, 226
 Worthen, Ezra, 63, 69, 80, 161, 164, 195, 197,
 235, 413
 Sketch of, 33-41
 Ezra, Sr., 34
 Ezekiel, 33, 34
 George, 34
 & Kendrick, 36
 Street Baptist Church, 120
 William E., 335
 Wright, Alexander, 42
 A. B., 86, 142, 402
 Caroline, 167
 Hapgood, 259, 417
 John, 43, 116, 262
 Nathaniel, 87, 167, 259, 260, 403
 W. H. P., 259
 Wyman, Joseph, 166
 William W., 165
 Young, ———, 130



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